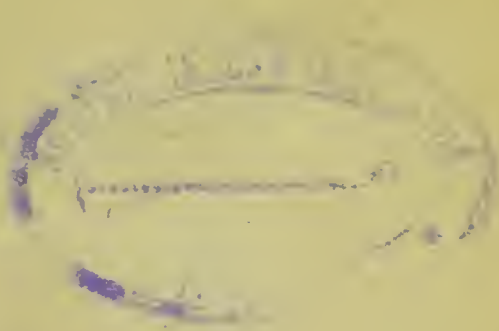
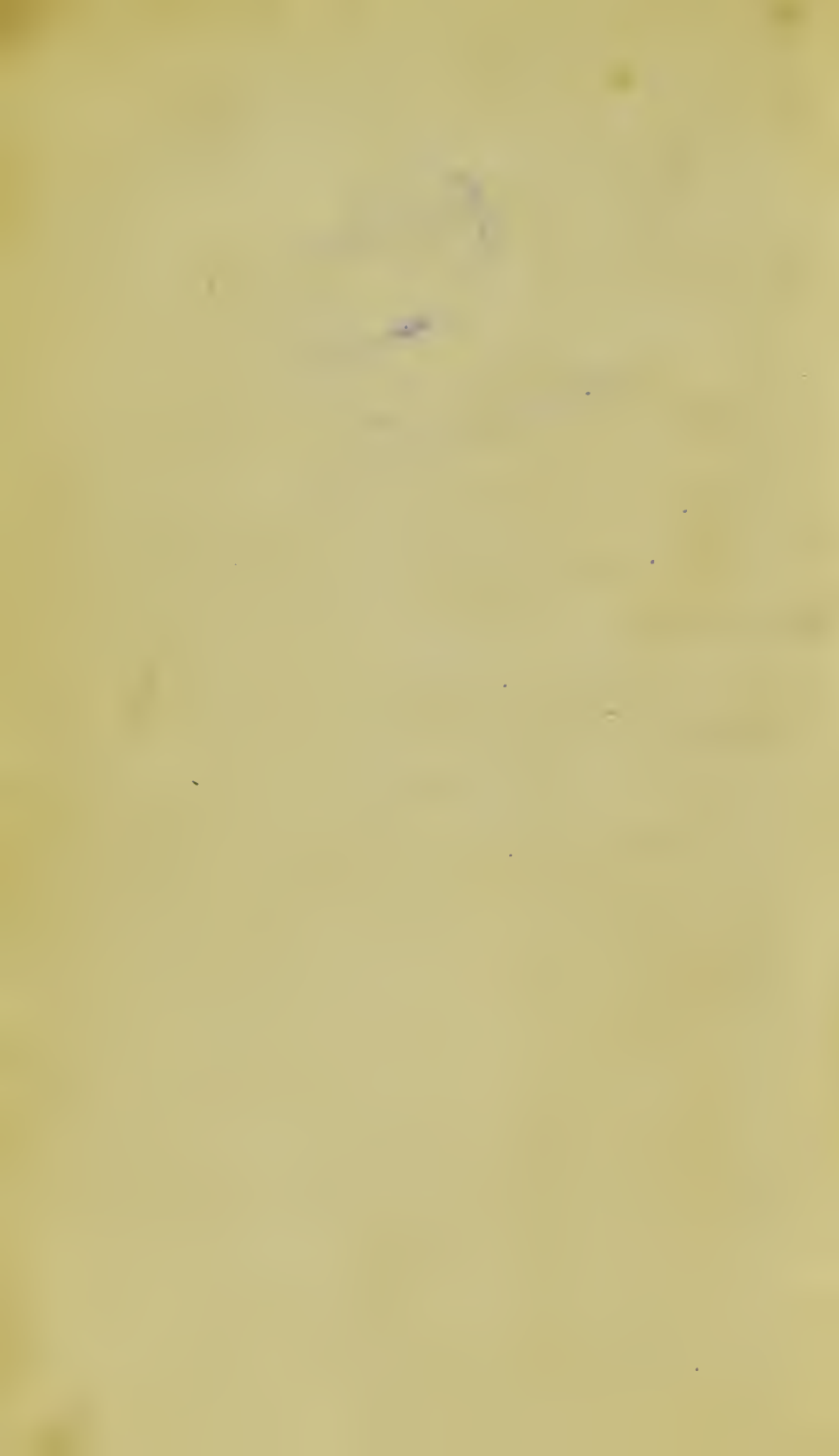




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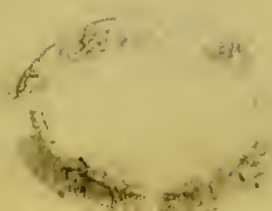
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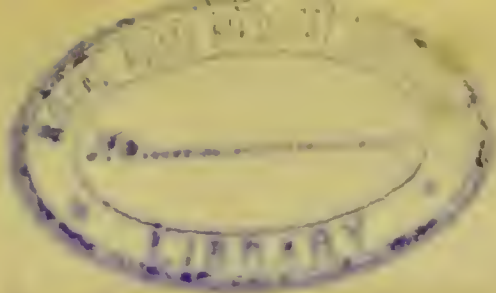






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THE RT HON^{BLE} HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G.C.B.

Palmerston

presented by. E. M. Gray
Lieut. General & Chap.
in 1801, 1802, 1803

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

VOL. 4



Waterloo.

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS
OF
ARTHUR,
DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

MARQUESS OF DOURO, DUKE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO,
A GRANDEE OF THE FIRST CLASS IN SPAIN, DUKE OF VITTORIA, COUNT OF VIMEIRA,
MARQUESS OF TORRES VEDRAS, FIELD-MARSHAL IN THE ARMY,
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE BATH, CONSTABLE OF THE TOWER,
WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
A KNIGHT OF ALL THE MOST DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN ORDERS, AND
PRINCE OF WATERLOO.

BY THE
REV. G. N. WRIGHT, M. A.
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH."

VOL. IV.

FISHER, SON, & CO.
NEWGATE STREET, LONDON; RUE ST. HONORÉ, PARIS.



P R E F A C E.

DURING the progress of the Peninsular war, and while the memory of its horrors was still green in the recollections of many countries, the Duke of Wellington discouraged some who had participated in its honours,—others, who had jealously watched every military and political movement—and a few who enjoyed the advantage of his private friendship, from becoming the chroniclers of his campaigns. It was desirable that international hatred should have abated, party feeling at home have subsided, and uncorrupt, authentic documents be placed in the power of the historian, before an impartial view of His Grace's motives and actions could be given to the world. Time has supplied one of these deficiencies; the publication of the

Wellington Despatches has left nothing to desire as to the other.

It may possibly contribute to obtain, for these memoirs, a more fair appreciation, to state the principle upon which they have been constructed, and, from which, whatever be its value, no deviation has been made. Commencing from the earliest appearance of this celebrated man in public, his conduct has been examined, the conclusion then formed carried forward, so as to compare him with himself at every successive period of his life; and, from a just analysis of all his actions, one final result has been deduced. It is less by comparison with others than with himself;—less relatively than absolutely, that his deeds are exhibited in the bright light which surrounds them. Had invidious comparison been employed, there is one instance in which it would have conferred a memorable superiority upon Wellington above the greatest of his cotemporaries—humanity. The death of D’Enghien dims the lustre of Napoleon’s fame—the wanton execution of Caraccioli is an eternal stain upon the name of Nelson; but no great conqueror of past ages ever brought his blood-stained career to a close, with fewer instances of severity, than the hero of Waterloo.

For several years after the fall of Napoleon, accounts of the Peninsular campaigns appeared, differing materially from each other; a circumstance attributable to imperfect information, to prejudice, or to purpose. In the military volumes of these memoirs, the scientific history of Colonel Napier has been constantly referred to,—its discrepancies with the elaborate work of Dr. Southey, and the biographies of Pieton, Moore, and others, examined, and, when possible, adjusted by the Wellington Despatches. In the political volumes, it has been endeavoured to point out the individual motives that actuated the minister in every measure which he proposed, rather than to analyze the state policy of each; by which mode a just estimate of character is ascertained, without a departure from the duty of the biographer. The honour and consistency of the legislator, who proposed the Catholic-relief bill, are established most entirely, while no opinion is given upon the propriety or policy of such a grant.

The consequences anticipated from these principles of composition were, impartiality in the delineation of character, and security against violating the boundaries of general history; truth is the inevitable issue of the one, condensation of the other.

Amongst his grace's companions in the battle-field there were many kindred spirits, whose memories, when the dazzling brightness of Wellington's glory shall be toned by time, will be recognized, remembered, and rewarded—whose day of honour is only postponed;—of these, which shall sooner emerge from the eclipse than the chivalrous hero to whom these volumes are dedicated—who, when granting to the author the patronage of his distinguished name, observed, with a generosity that has never been exceeded, “You are evidently an enthusiastic admirer of the Duke of Wellington's character; but I, also, go the whole length of your enthusiasm.”

LONDON,
1st July, 1841.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

CHAP. I.

The Prussians, by desire of Wellington, pursue the enemy—Napoleon escapes to Paris—The allies cross the frontier, and march on Paris—Wellington indignantly refuses to become accessory to the assassination of Napoleon—Abdication of the emperor in favour of his son—Appointment of French commissioners—Military convention—Entrance of the allies into Paris—Flight of Napoleon—Final adjustment—Return of the Duke of Wellington to England—1815. P. 1

CHAP. II.

Mr. Brougham disapproves of the holy alliance—The Duke of Wellington visits the opera in Paris—His reception—Recommends the withdrawal of one-fifth of the army of occupation—His grace returns to London—is present at the opening of Waterloo bridge—The British institution offer a premium for the best allegorical painting of the victory of Waterloo—Colossal statue of Napoleon in Apsley house—Congress of Aix-la-chapelle, and also of Verona—Duke of Wellington attends in his place in the house of lords, and takes an active part in foreign and domestic politics.—1816—1821. P. 75

CHAP. III.

The colossal bronze statue set up in Hyde park—Death of the Marquis of Londonderry, who is succeeded by Mr. Canning—Parliament opened by commission—Debate on the congress of Verona—Roman Catholic petition brought forward in the house of lords—Commercial crisis—Earl of Liverpool retires from public life—Mr. Canning becomes premier, upon which the Duke of Wellington and his party resign office—Amendment of the corn-law proposed and carried by the Duke of Wellington—Death of Mr. Canning—Goderich administration: its sudden dissolution—Battle of Navarino—The Duke of Wellington becomes first lord of the treasury.—1822—1828. P. 124

CHAP. IV.

The Tories become discontented with the liberal policy of the Duke of Wellington—Their secession from the Wellington ministry—Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington with Dr. Curtis—Duel between the Duke and the Earl of Winchelsea—Noble conduct of the latter—The Whigs, by their

CONTENTS.

desertion of the duke in his liberal views, contrive to embarrass his administration—The duke alone the author of the Roman Catholic relief bill—Parliamentary reform agitated—The duke's public declaration against the measure—General excitement throughout the country—The king's visit to the City abandoned—Violent conduct of both parties in parliament—The duke, finding opposition to the progress of reform vain, resigns office—the reform bill passed by the abilities and exertions of Earl Grey alone—Earl Grey resigns to Lord Melbourne, whose administration is succeeded by that of Sir Robert Peel.—1828—1835. P. 256

LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. IV.

	Page
1. VILLAGE OF WATERLOO.	Vignette.
2. PLAN OF BATTLE	10
3. WELLINGTON TESTIMONIAL, PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN	79
4. EARL OF SHAFTESBURY	99
5. LORD LYNDHURST	154
6. LORD CAMDEN	174
7. SIR THOMAS MUNROE	180
8. LORD HILL	215
9 DUKE OF SUSSEX	331
10. LORD ELDON	337
11. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE J. W. CROKER	384
12. LORD STANLEY	379
13. LORD DURHAM	388



LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

CHAP. I.

THE PRUSSIANS, BY DESIRE OF WELLINGTON, PURSUE THE ENEMY—NAPOLEON ESCAPES TO PARIS—THE ALLIES CROSS THE FRONTIER, AND MARCH ON PARIS—WELLINGTON INDIGNANTLY REFUSES TO BECOME ACCESSARY TO THE ASSASSINATION OF NAPOLEON—ABDIICATION OF THE EMPEROR IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON—APPOINTMENT OF FRENCH COMMISSIONERS—MILITARY CONVENTION—ENTRANCE OF THE ALLIES INTO PARIS—FLIGHT OF NAPOLEON—FINAL ADJUSTMENT—RETURN OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO ENGLAND—1815.

“THE history of a battle is not unlike the history of a ball. Some individuals may recollect all the little events, of which the great result is—the battle won, or lost; but no individual can recollect the order in which, or the exact moment at which, they occurred; which makes all the difference as to their value or importance.” This was the deliberate opinion of the Duke of Wellington, communicated in a letter of expostulation written at Paris, to a friend in England, whom he wished to discourage from writing a minute account of the great battle of Waterloo, the last of his victories. The truth of this wise counsel has been exemplified in a manner little creditable to the originators of the Prussian narrative,—a document in which the honour of the victory is attributed to the genius and fortune of Marshal Blucher. Now, the fate of the day was decided by the overthrow of the imperial

guards, in which the Prussians had no share; and, from the lateness of the hour at which they arrived in force, according to British authorities, they were instrumental in securing, not in winning, the victory. It is supposed, however, that, from the confusion which attended the various operations, the Prussians have totally misconceived the precise time of their arrival; and, from a supposition that they were present, desire to be admitted as accessaries. This mode of arguing, places our allies in a dilemma, from which but one mode of extricating themselves remains; namely, a total retraction or correction of every document implying that their main body had actually come up, and operated on the rear of the enemy's right at half-past four o'clock; for, were such the fact, the enemy would have been enveloped and cut to pieces between the allies and Prussians; or the Prussians, which is quite incredible, must have been content to look upon the contest during three whole hours, without affording the least co-operation to the allies. It only remains, therefore, to be concluded that they have mistaken the precise hour of their arrival, and have confounded the *melée* at La Belle Alliance, where Blucher arrived as the imperial guards were in full retreat, for the more desperate contest of Waterloo, in which it was never yet pretended that a single Prussian lost his life. The effrontery of the Prussians in this ungracious assumption, has been checked by the ablest military writers, who have made the operations of this campaign the study of several years; and it is a subject of regret, that the commander-in-chief of the Prussian army could not remain satisfied with the quantity of disgrace which accompanied his defeat at Ligny, but has insisted upon increasing it by setting up an unfounded claim to the honours that belong to another. The marshal's despatches include these sweeping assertions:—"In conjunction with Wellington, *I obtained* the completest victory that it is possible to gain, over Napoleon Buonaparte. The battle was fought in the vicinity of a few insulated houses, lying on the road from Genappe to Brussels, and called La Belle Alliance; and I think there cannot be a more appropriate name for this

important day." The prince, in this letter, seems to countenance the idea, that he mistook the conflict of Waterloo for that of its conclusion at La Belle Alliance,—almost an explanation of his conduct; but in a letter to his princess he repeats the former bombast, by saying—"I put an end at once to Buonaparte's dancing." A generous people may pardon the vanity of a brave old man, but cannot forgive the following cool calumny by a foreign historian: "Just as the fate of the day was doubtful, the British army had lost considerable ground, and the enemy was ready to strike another blow against it, we resolved, *though our columns were for the most part not come up*, to make the attack with *two brigades only*." This official statement, which proceeds to describe the signal defeat of the imperial guards, not by the British, whose names are not to be found in it, but by the two Prussian brigades, concludes with an account of the spoils taken from the enemy *in the field*—that is, the field of La Belle Alliance. To this foolish indulgence of vanity, calculated to disfigure the page of history, the conduct of French writers has contributed, who, unwilling to admit that the emperor had been defeated by Wellington and a few brave Britons, assent to the statement of the Prussians, as it swells the amount of his enemies on the field of battle, and extenuates his faults on that day. Even this weakness is more pardonable than the injustice and ingratitude of our allies, whose inconsistent statements sufficiently refute themselves, and leave the truth distinguishable amongst the most flagrant falsehoods.

Before we place the Prussians on the keen scent of their enemies, whom they hunted with all that ferocity of appetite by which beasts of prey are impelled, we shall submit to our readers a moral, drawn from the humiliation of Napoleon and the French nation at Waterloo, borrowed from a public journal* of that period, from whose columns, now lost or forgotten, we have rescued it, as a true and faithful portrait of our national character, and a just and lucid exposition of the

* *The Champion*, as quoted by the editor of "Circumstantial Details of the Battle of Waterloo."

part which England acted in the vindication of European liberties against their innovator.

“ The very important results from the battle of Waterloo so teem with suggestions, that infinitely more must be trusted to the reader’s reflection and sensibility than can be offered on paper to his eye. The effect of these events is so grand ; their succession to each other is so rapid, and, at the same time, so towering in the scale of importance ; their variety is so precipitate and wild, that one feels, in relation to this political crisis, much in the same way as when surrounded by the most sublime and abrupt scenes of nature, as if it would be impertinent to throw in the petty voice of remark amongst so much that outstrips the power and speculation of individuals. There is a pitch of activity of mind, excited by the vastness of surrounding objects, which silences language by a conviction of its inability ; and there is a rush in the tide of success, which produces a vague but serious impression, akin to alarm, occasioned by the falterers finding themselves at a loss. The break-up of what appeared so strong, the instantaneous discomfiture and dispersion of what appeared so formidable, the unbounded triumph of what appeared so beset with doubts and difficulties, which we have witnessed, causes the result to assume altogether the air of a stupendous phenomenon. Amidst this union of violence and rapidity, we feel ourselves rather carried than carrying, we seem the object of some overruling influence, rather than the fulfillers of our own designs. The interval has been so small since Buonaparte declared himself impregnable in French feeling and strength—since we heard of armies on armies collected to resent as well as resist invasion—since we were dazzled and astonished with oath-taking ceremonies, with the imposing display of a throne, the steps of which were crowded with devoted children—that now, when we find this man absolutely stripped, and rendered destitute by one blow,—his unrestrainable and all-confident soldiery scattered and dissipated by one encounter ; and, France, “ the beautiful and invincible,” laid open to her heart, defenceless and bare, by one defeat ; we startle in that feeling of scepti-

cism which is sometimes produced by the overpowering nature of the conviction of a reality. It may be said, we believe, and, under all the circumstances, without any violation of generosity, that the two extremes of previous boasting and subsequent depression and disgrace, could have happened in no country of Europe, within the same space of time, but France; and we apprehend it may be said consistently, under all the circumstances, both with truth and decency, that the succession of the latter to the former, could not have been so rapidly forced on such an enemy, by any country but England. Neither the taunt nor the self-congratulation would be worth writing, unless connected with the vindication of true principles. Every triumph of policy with such a bias, is a benefit gained for mankind generally.

“ It is the proud distinction of the British troops, that they are alike to be depended upon in *doing* or in *suffering*, while the French are nothing unless they are *doing*; the latter must be carried out of themselves, to reach to anything that is great, and when the artificial stimulus fails, or is checked, they drop back into their natures, which do not well sustain them. Their British adversaries, on the other hand, have no occasion to go beyond the essential qualities of their character, and their efforts being thus sounder in motive, are more substantial in effect. The difference may be represented by calling one the rock, and the other the foaming spray which it beats back. During the whole course of the war in Spain, this difference was very perceptible; but never has it been exhibited on so grand a scale as in the late battles in the Netherlands. The French were impetuous and desperate in their charges—the British were immovable and calm in receiving them; whenever any numbers, no matter how small, of British troops could be thrown forward to meet the enemy, there was the enemy, no matter how strong, or how triumphant over others, abruptly stopped. Moral superiority took the aspect of a physical obstacle, which must be annihilated to be removed. In the grand result, the French have felt, the world has seen, and posterity will know, that England’s sons are the

best in the fight, and that they are capable of the mightiest exertions of every kind. Their country alone has held out without interval or faltering; their country *alone* has entirely escaped degradation in these times of misfortune; she alone has assisted all, and held her own head high without assistance. Our enemy has now experienced the superiority of England in every way: all his publications, for many years, have avowed that his great design was to ruin England: his measures have all been directed to this end. He has tried to effect it at sea, on shore, singly, and by alliances: he has tried to effect it by commercial, financial, and *sentimental* means. We have destroyed him at sea, we have beaten him on shore: we have repelled him singly, we have conquered him with our allies: we tired him out of his anti-commercial system, and our finances have also triumphed, without the commission of any breach of faith to our creditors. We have exposed the meanness and falsehood of his sentiments. Lastly, in one great battle, England, away from her own shores, has, in the teeth of superior numbers, beaten the collected might of France on her own frontiers, headed by an imperial general, whose superiority over all captains, ancient or modern, the public voice of fame has asserted and sworn, in prose and poetry, in harangues and writings—in insolence, in perfidy, in falsehood. In one battle England has dealt to France a blow that has gone to her heart, and sent her reeling and trembling backward on a throne, which, in theatrical show, at least, she had sworn to defend to the last drop of her blood; in behalf of which, she, but the other day, held forth the boldest language of defiance; a throne, which was said to present a superb, sublime, imposing spectacle; this throne has tumbled down like rotten wood under her stagger and fall: her soldiers have disappeared like the smoke of her cannon, after the prodigious noise they made; and, between her frontier and the neighbourhood of her capital, scarcely an arm has been raised to preserve ‘the fine country;’ to vindicate the honour of ‘the great nation;’ to fulfil ‘the destiny,’ which had ‘decreed France to be the queen of the west.’”

“If it be true, which has been taken for granted by some, that it was the will of the people of France, that Buonaparte should reign over them, the ruin of that power at one blow, the instantaneous desertion of him in the teeth of engagements to support him to the last, and the breaking up of a national army by one defeat, form a more severe humiliation of the French, than any which they have inflicted on other countries. Nothing that has been done by them to Prussia or to Austria, was so severely disgraceful to the vanquished, as this which has fallen on themselves, supposing that they were enlisted in Buonaparte’s cause. Assuming, on the other hand, that Buonaparte’s return was a measure of violence, that it was offensive to the public sentiment of France—what is to be said of a people, that are thus to be wrested to and fro,—knocked like a shuttlecock from one government to another—and all the while debating about their “destinies and their deliberations and their high attitude,” deriving that self-satisfaction from words which they ought to seek in things. Some, we know, feel a distrust and a disheartenedness from the utter overthrow of Buonaparte, in consequence of regarding it as the overthrow of intellect: but if the matter be properly considered, it will appear, that a grand vindication has been effected of those principles which combine intellect, morality, and freedom together. It has been proved that it is only, from this union, that the invincibility of character can spring, into whose contemplation the idea of yielding is never admitted, which acquires strong feeling from serious reflection, and its honest enthusiasm from a sober sense of self-respect. This is a description of character which at least applies better to England than to France; the triumph of the latter over the former, therefore, would have been a most melancholy event, as a proof of the little practical worth of those domestic virtues, social comforts, and public rights, which England possesses in a superior degree to France. But the victory of England is an assurance that they are of sterling worth, that although they may demand some self-denials, yet that they will repay them; that Providence has a sacred store from which it bestows its most splendid and im-

perishable gifts on those who willingly forfeit, for their sake, the easy pleasures that are within the reach of indolence and sensuality. It would indeed have been a miserable thing for the hopes of the world, if a perjured and unprincipled soldiery, a careless and fickle people, a perfidious and declamatory government, had, in the terrible and decisive struggle of faculty and heart, gained the day; but the great fight of Waterloo has, with the instrumentality of English heroism, connected the political and moral qualities which philanthropists enforce, with that public strength which is the common ambition of the gross as well as of the enlightened. We rejoice in the victory which England has gained, and we have no doubt that the cause of political freedom, in France, will be benefited by what has happened. Buonaparte's fall has proved, we think, that he was not supported by the opinion of the French, and, if not so supported, his return was a piece of ruffian-violence, and his pretensions, since his return, sheer knavish imposition."

In the warm enthusiasm which the preceding extract displays, flowing naturally from the joyousness and suddenness of the occasion, every Englishman will coincide, while the bitter sarcasm with which it is intermingled, will disincline him to identify himself with the whole. Could the wheat have been separated from the tares, without essential injury to the produce, the moral beauties of the reasoning should have been presented to our readers, unimpaired by the occasional bursts of violence that impress deformity wherever they appear.

Having closed our narrative of the battle of Waterloo, which was fought by the British, the moment has arrived for speaking of the struggle at La Belle Alliance, or rather at Genappe, between the Prussians and the wreck of the flying army. The French, under cover of the darkness, escaped into the village of Genappe, falsely imagining that there, at least, two leagues from the battle-field, they were secure from the vigilance and power of Wellington, until the return of light; but the army of Blucher coming up at the close of the battle, undertook to pursue them even under the dark veil of night. No order was observed by the beaten and terrified troops in their

new quarters, some bivouacked outside the town, others in the village streets, which were strongly barricaded; and so completely was every avenue obstructed, that immediate pursuit was deemed impracticable. Scarcely, however, had they disposed themselves to rest, when the fire of the Prussian cavalry created alarm, the bivouac was raised, flight renewed, and everything but life given up to their pursuers. The struggle that took place here was not for power, but plunder. Wellington had sown the seeds, Blucher desired to reap the harvest, the glory and advantage of the triumph belonged solely to the allies, the Prussians would now ascribe both to themselves. The indecency of their conduct in appropriating the spoils found at Genappe, appears from their own statement, published originally in the Prussian language. "Besides Napoleon's hat and sword," writes a Prussian officer, "his seal-ring was also taken, and now blazes on the hand of the hero Gneisenau. *We* have got all his baggage, even his diamonds; the fusiliers have chosen out the finest, as a present to the king; the subaltern officers of this battalion *now* dine on silver." These trophies were not held by the Prussians in trust for Wellington or his royal master, but at once, most shamelessly, distributed amongst their officers and men; and Blucher states in his despatch of the twentieth of June, that he had sent the emperor's hat and sword to the king of Prussia, adding, that "his (Napoleon's) most magnificently embroidered state mantle, and his carriage, are in my hands, as well as his perspective glass with which he observed *us* during the battle." This piece of unblushing effrontery was followed by a second attempt to appropriate the spoils of Waterloo to the purposes of those who had no share in the victory. An order being issued from head-quarters at Brussels, for the collection and parking of the guns taken from the enemy, the drivers' corps proceeded immediately towards the forsaken batteries, in the direction of Genappe, for the purpose, but, on their arrival, few of the heavy guns were to be found. His grace's orders being peremptory, the escort proceeded to Genappe, where they discovered, with surprise, almost the whole of the artillery,

waggons, and baggage, which they left on the field until orders should be given for its collection, regularly parked, and under the protection of Prussian sentinels. The officer left in charge of the spoils at first concealed himself, but his unsoldierlike subterfuge was unavailing; the English took possession of the entire train, and drew it away to the English side of the field of battle.

The defence of the Netherlands had been amongst the earliest of those cares for the future maintenance of general liberty, which the Duke of Wellington evinced, after the first abdication of Napoleon. With that singular prescience with which he was gifted, he said that if ever the exile should return, an irruption into the Belgian provinces would be the first practical proof of his restless ambition; and, it was under this impression that he visited the frontier fortresses,* reported their wants, and the best mode of strengthening them; and, amongst other remarkable instances of his foresight, pointed

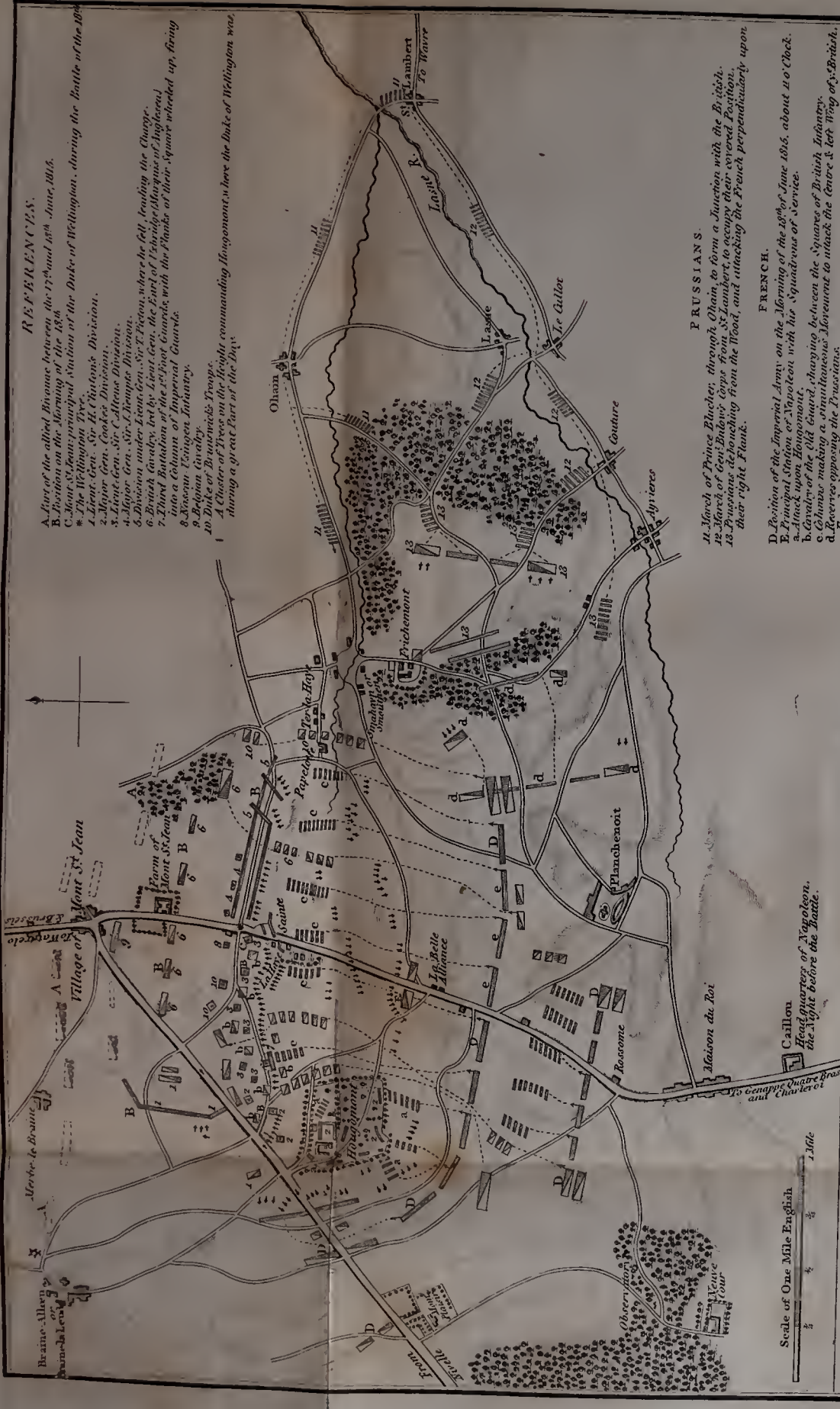
* After the lapse of twenty years, when the great services of the Duke of Wellington were less fresh in the recollection of many, and others, from political hostility, showed a disposition to impute motives and conduct, from which, through so long and eventful a life, none were ever more free, the public journals were induced to represent, "that his grace had claimed pecuniary compensation from the Belgian people, for the advice he had given them in his military report." The most conclusive reply that can be given to these unworthy insinuations will be found in the following letter which the Duke of Wellington thought it proper to address to the editor of the *Kentish Gazette*: "Walmer Castle, 11 Oct. 1834. Sir, My attention has been drawn to a statement in the *Kentish Gazette*, that a demand of mine upon the Minister of War (at Brussels, I conclude) for £20,000 as arrears of pay as Inspector-General of the Belgian fortresses, had been refused by that officer. I had seen a similar statement in other newspapers, with different details, and stating that the demand was for £28,000. I do not in general pay much attention to such statements in newspapers; but several friends having written to me upon the subject of this report, it appears that the shortest mode of giving an answer is, to inform you that there is no foundation whatever for such a report. I have made no application to the Minister of War at Brussels for £20,000, or £28,000; or any other sum, on any account whatever. I have no claim upon that officer for any sum whatever, or upon any other officer or government, for superintending the construction of the fortresses in the Netherlands. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant—Wellington."

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO,

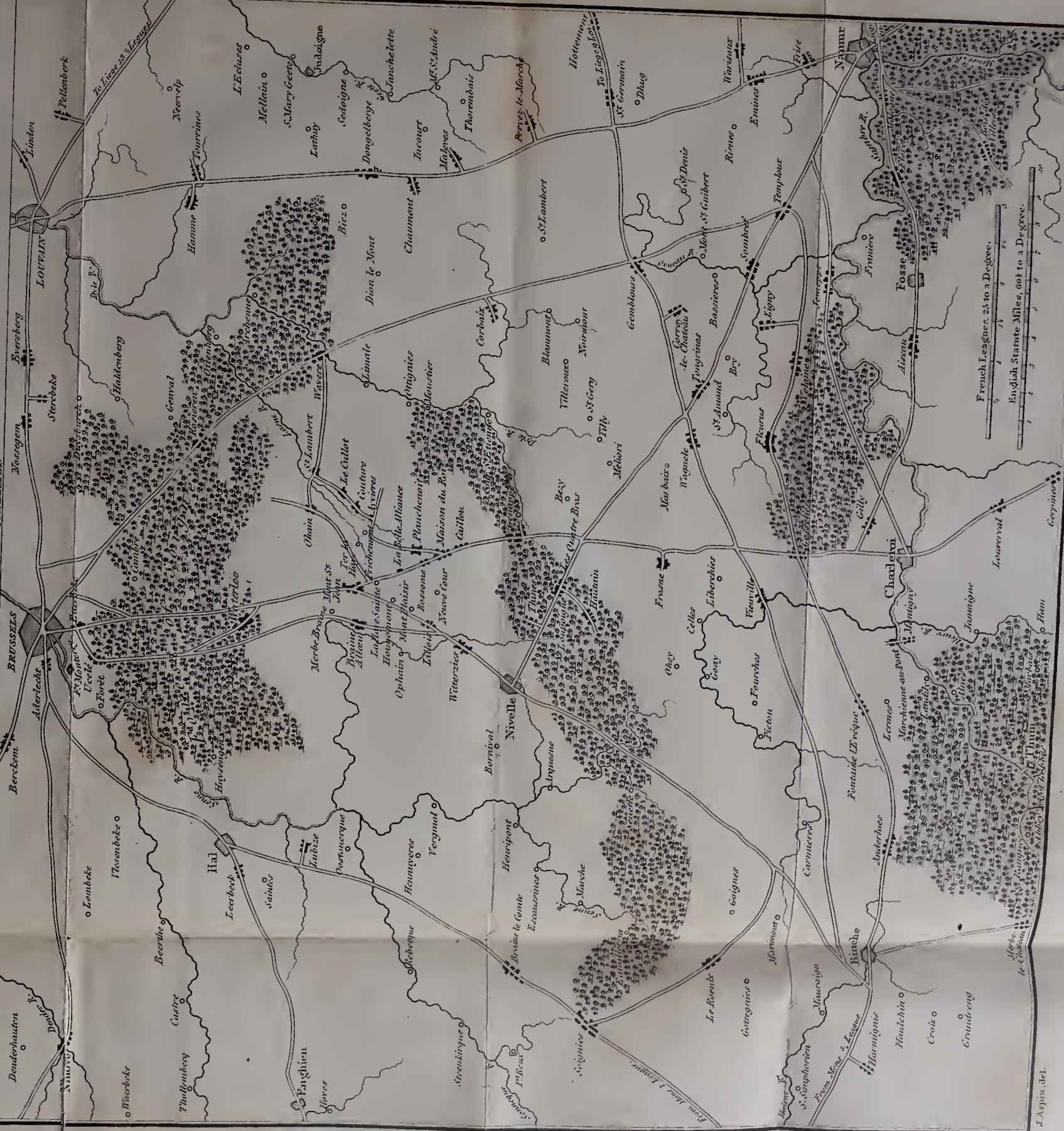
Fought on Sunday, June 18th 1815. From the Horse Guards' Copy, sketched by Capt. Thornton.

REFERENCES.

- A Part of the allied Rhine army, between the 17th and 18th June 1815.
- B Position on the morning of the 18th June.
- C Mount St. Jean, principal station of the Duke of Wellington, during the battle of the 18th June.
- D The Wellington Trench.
- E Major Gen. Cooke's Division.
- F Major Gen. Sir H. Clinton's Division.
- G Major Gen. Sir C. Cathcart's Division.
- H Division under Lieut. Gen. Sir Thos. Picton, who fell, leading the Charge.
- I British Cavalry, led by Lieut. Gen. the Earl of Uxbridge, who fell, leading the Charge.
- J Third Battalion of the 1st Foot Guards, the Earl of Uxbridge's Division, who fell, leading the Charge.
- K Division of Imperial Guard.
- L Division of Imperial Guard.
- M Division of Imperial Guard.
- N Division of Imperial Guard.
- O Division of Imperial Guard.
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- W Division of Imperial Guard.
- X Division of Imperial Guard.
- Y Division of Imperial Guard.
- Z Division of Imperial Guard.



MAP OF THE SCENE OF OPERATIONS, from Brussels to Charleroi.



J. Aspin del.

H. Fisher, sculp. & J. Aspin, sculp.

J. H. Fisher, sculp.

to the field of Waterloo, as the spot where the independence of Brussels should be maintained. That these views were not visionary, not the conceits of a mind too confident in its powers, and pampered by success, the events that followed sufficiently establish.

The policy of the Duke of Wellington with respect to Napoleon Buonaparte, had been always the same,—he was ever consistent with himself; and that policy was the removal of that extraordinary individual from a sphere in which he could still continue to invade the liberties of mankind. In his earlier despatches he had expressed his conviction of the necessity of depriving him, for ever, of regal authority; in the congress of Vienna he acceded to propositions which were *supposed* to have meditated his death; and, his reply to the French commissioners who came from Paris with proposals of peace, was precisely in the same spirit. “The army of Flanders,” therefore, being destroyed, and its imperial general having fled for shelter beyond the frontier, his grace resolved to pursue him with activity, and follow up the advantages of the victory at Waterloo. Leaving Brussels on the twentieth of June, the allies marched to Nivelles, where, preparatory to crossing the French boundary, his grace issued the following proclamation or general order:

“As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations, which are at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, are desired to recollect, that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his majesty the King of France; and that France ought, therefore, to be treated as a friendly country. It is, therefore, required that nothing should be taken by either officers or soldiers, for which payment be not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted to soldiers, or officers, to extort contributions. The commissary will be authorized, either by the field-marshal, or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requi-

sitions, for which regular receipts will be given and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government, in the several dominions to which they belong."

Having admonished his own army of the penalty that awaited any violation of the laws of nations, any infringement of the claims of justice or humanity, his grace was not less attentive to their protection against the probable insults of an irritable and highly excited people. More partial than any hero of the age in which he flourished to conciliatory, rather than coercive measures, he issued a proclamation on the twenty-second of June, addressed to the people of France, setting forth, "that he entered their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an enemy (except of the usurper, the declared foe of the human race, with whom he could enter into neither peace nor treaty), but to assist them in shaking off the iron yoke with which they had been so long oppressed. That he had given corresponding orders to his troops. France must know that he had the power to enforce becoming conduct on her part, as well as to protect her from insult. After the orders he had issued to his own troops relative to their conduct in the French territory, all persons who absented themselves from their homes, or were found in the service of the usurper, would be considered and treated as his adherents, therefore as common enemies, and their property would be given up as a contribution for the maintenance of the army."

The army of Wellington having marched along the left of the Sambre, entered the French territory on the twenty-first, by the route of Bavay, while Blucher's force, having crossed that river on the nineteenth, in pursuit of the enemy, crossed the frontier at the same time with the allies, and advanced by way of Beaumont. The duke fixed his head-quarters *pro tempore* at Le Cateau, while his army blockaded Le Quesnoi and

Valenciennes, and directed General Colville to reduce Cambray. His instructions, in this instance, afford one of the most indisputable proofs of his mildness and humanity. Crowned with victory, and at the head of an army flushed with recent success, it might be imagined his grace was not prepared to pardon interruption from such humble authorities as the governor of Cambray: too noble, however, to exercise cruelty towards the really powerless, he delivered a number of proclamations to General Colville, for distribution in the vicinity—wrote a letter to the governor, informing him of the decisive battle of Waterloo, and invasion of France by the allies—suggested to him and to his brave garrison the wisdom of abandoning a cause in which success was hopeless—recommended him to submit to circumstances, pass over to the service of the king of France, and save his gallant little band from the consequences of a siege, which must necessarily end in their destruction. There was still, and ever will be, while France preserves her records, much devotion to the name and splendour of Napoleon's reign: the gallant governor disdained advice, however prudent, when proffered by an enemy, and closed his gates securely against the allies. Resistance was totally futile; the place was soon taken by escalade, with the loss to the allies of one officer and seven rank and file, on the night of the twenty-fourth of June. The citadel continued to hold out for a few days longer, during which time the exertions of his grace to obtain its surrender without bloodshed, were incessant; he procured an order to Baron Roos, from the king of France, to surrender his trust; and he directed, or rather sanctioned, a suspension of hostilities, upon the reply of the governor. His humane efforts were happily crowned with success, and the citadel was surrendered to General Colville.

So far the progress of the allies was satisfactory; the French people were hourly learning to endure the presence of an army, whose conduct they confessed to be more subordinate than that of the imperial troops, more merciful to the conquered than that of the Prussians. The latter had rushed rudely through the country, terrifying by their aspect the

defenceless peasants, and exercising the most wanton cruelty and injustice towards all. This disreputable conduct caused a general desertion of the towns, and the creation of every possible annoyance and obstruction to the Prussians, in their march; while contrary effects attended contrary measures in the route of the Anglo-allies. Having blockaded Landreay and Maubeuge, Quesnes, in hopes of mercy, surrendered to the Prussians; and St. Quentin was without an inhabitant when Blucher's army arrived there.

The opposition, however, to the advance of the allies, presented no novel military feature; the diplomatic part which Lord Wellington performed, at this period will always be regarded as the more memorable. Honourably, rigidly complying with his instructions, and his personal promises, to restore the legitimate race to the throne of France, his grace now invited its representative, Louis XVIII., to join the army, show himself to the people, and express his gratitude to the loyal amongst his subjects. Talleyrand was opposed to this advice, and cautioned his majesty against too near an approach to the lion in his den, lest the arm of Wellington might not be sufficient to save him from his clutches; but Wellington flattered Talleyrand, and won him to his objects.

The remains of the French army, at the moment when the duke pressed the king to come forward, had retired upon Laon, in a very wretched state, diminished considerably by desertions amongst the infantry, and still further weakened in its resources by the misconduct of the cavalry and artillery soldiers, who sold their horses to the people of the country. The presence of such a monstrous military force disinclined a large portion of the French people to further military governments, and induced them to declare for a less glorious but more peaceful monarchy. Witnessing these rapid changes, Lord Wellington was competent to correct the too cautious policy of Talleyrand, and promote the cause of Louis. His grace, at this date, felt fully assured that the sun of Napoleon had set for ever; and, that he was sincere in his recommendation to the wily minister of France, is proved by his letter, of the same date, to Lord

Uxbridge (Marquis of Anglesey), in which he says, "My opinion is, we have given Napoleon his death-blow; his army is destroyed, his men deserting; notwithstanding the force that he may yet collect, I am still of opinion that he can make no head against us—*qu'il n'a qu'à se pendre*."

Louis obeyed the advice of the British hero, and advanced into France, erecting his throne wherever Wellington pointed out. On the twenty-fourth his majesty reached Le Cateau, a circumstance that afforded the duke much satisfaction, and elicited the following courteous and conciliating letter to the Prince de Talleyrand, of whose prudence, in the administration of difficulties, he entertained a high opinion. In this instance, however, his grace appears to have been decidedly the abler diplomatist.

"Sir:—The king has arrived here, and has, as I expected, been received with the utmost demonstrations of joy by all his subjects, and I only regret that your highness did not accompany his majesty. It was I who recommended to the king to enter France at present, because I was aware of the extent of our success in the battle of the eighteenth, and because I was desirous of having the influence of his majesty's name, to give to that success all the advantages which it could derive; and, because I was aware that it would occasion a crisis in the king's affairs, particularly at Paris, to take advantage of which, I wished his majesty should be on the spot, or as near it as circumstances would permit. I flatter myself if I could have seen you, or if you could have known the exact state of affairs, when you advised the king, at Mons, not to enter France, you would have given his majesty different advice, and would have followed his majesty. As things are now, I can only enclose you, in confirmation of my opinion of the extent of our success, the *Journal de l'Empire* of the twenty-second, in which you will find Buonaparte's account of the action, the truth of which, as far as it goes against himself, cannot be doubted.

"You will see, in the same paper, the proceedings in the assembly of the deputies regarding this action, and I enclose you copies of letters just received from Prince Frederick, of

Orange, who is before Valenciennes, in which you will see that Buonaparte has determined, in consequence, to abdicate the government in favour of his son—and what persons are appointed to the government of France. Having this information before you, I conclude that you can have no scruple about joining the king forthwith, a measure which I earnestly entreat you, and the other members of the king's council, to adopt without loss of time. I beg you will observe, that, although I have seen the king, I have not spoken to his majesty on the subject to which this letter relates."

For the more just appreciation of the Duke of Wellington's diplomatic character—a character long denied to him by the interested and the ignorant in his own country—it may be well to remark, with what alacrity he undertook the difficult duty of managing the French minister,—a man whose life had been one continued series of political intrigues, managed with such extraordinary address, that having often buffeted the waves of various revolutions, and having served masters as opposite in politics and alike in passions as Marius to Sylla, he acquired honour, wealth, almost respect, and died in the bosom of his family. The duke perfectly understood the cautious character of the minister, and afterwards very ably defended his reputation in the British senate, for, when sufficient allowance had been made for the times and the country in which he lived, his grace conceived that the share of moral guilt, with which Talleyrand might be truly charged, was not greater than belonged to other ministers similarly situated.

From Le Cateau his grace advanced to Joncourt, on the twenty-fifth, where he was informed of the proposition made to Blucher and to Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, to suspend hostilities, on the ground of Buonaparte having abdicated in favour of his son, and also of his having sent a minister to treat for peace with the allied powers. As it was one of the articles of the treaty of the twenty-fifth of March, that Napoleon must be forced to desist from his projects, and placed in a situation where he would no longer have it in his power to disturb the peace of Europe; and as the new arrangements were of Buona-

parte's own formation, his grace could not consider that they presented that description of security which the allies had in contemplation; he, therefore, viewed these measures as a trick, and declined paying any regard to the commissioners. The king was now placed at Cambray, the castle of Guise had surrendered to the Prussians, and Peronne—called *la Pucelle*, because, though often besieged, it had never surrendered—was attacked by Major-General Maitland, on the twenty-sixth, in the afternoon. The British took the hornwork which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss, and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms, and return to their homes.* It was fortunate for the cause, in which his grace was engaged, that it was virtually won at Waterloo, for, so completely were his troops disorganized by the joyousness of that victory, and the infamous example of the Prussians in their advance upon Paris, that their conduct occasioned the deepest regret to their commander-in-chief. "We have not," observed his grace, "one quarter of the ammunition which we ought to have, on account of the deficiency of our drivers and carriages; and I really believe that, with the exception of my old Spanish infantry, I have got not only the worst troops, but the worst equipped army, with the worst staff that was ever brought together." His grace also complained that one of his principal officers knew no more of his business than a child, and that he was obliged to do it for him; that the new regiments were reduced to nothing, yet were they

* On this occasion the duke had a very narrow escape. The commandant having consented to the proposed conditions, and his grace being anxious to obtain immediate possession of that important fortress, he proceeded in person to one of its gates, to wait until it should be opened. Directing his staff to get under shelter in the ditch of an unoccupied out-work, he posted himself in a sally-port of the glacis. A staff-officer having a communication to make to his grace, and fancying he had already entered the place, came suddenly upon him while stationed as aforesaid, which drew the attention of the enemy, who treacherously discharged a howitzer loaded with grape at that point, and shattered the wall against which the duke was standing, making (to use the words of one who saw him immediately after) 'his blue coat completely red.'—Vide *Jackson's and Scott's Military Life of Wellington*.

obliged to be kept as distinct bodies, at a great expense; and, finally, he declared that he “never was so disgusted with any concern, and that he hoped he was going the right way to bring it to an early conclusion.” It should be recollected that the call to arms, for the purpose of resisting Napoleon in Flanders, was sudden, and that the veterans whom his grace had commanded at the close of the Peninsular war, must necessarily have been superior in every way to the raw levies that were added to “the few British soldiers” who followed him across the frontier; and that, while his Spanish allies venerated the integrity of his character, his Prussian coadjutors, in the face of Europe, actually ascribed to themselves the glories that belonged to the British arms. But the habitual jealousy that marks the temperament of continentalists forms no part of a Briton’s character, and, passing over in silence the effrontery of his nominal allies, his grace proceeded in his great duties with the same unshaken loyalty and zeal, that he had manifested on his first efforts in the cause of freedom.

The Emperor of the Russians had acknowledged, in the most decisive manner, his conviction of the splendid military and political talents of Lord Wellington; he had expressed as much surprise as his cold temperament admitted, at the calm steady light of loyalty and reason that governed every movement of this great subject of his Britannic majesty, and having flattered his grace with the gift of honours, and the words of friendship, seemed to hesitate on one point alone, whether any earthly aggrandisement could be found, whose splendour or ostentation might dazzle the hero, and induce him to select the cheerless regions of north Europe for his abode. But, while these vain visions passed before the imperial mind, the war-denouncing trumpet of Napoleon rang along the banks of the Danube, and Wellington, starting up from the calm congress of potentates, rushed once more into the battle-field, the faithful subject of his king, the devoted servant of his country, the great champion of freedom, and thus replied to the wants, the wishes, the doubts of his late imperial associate. The movements of Wellington and Blücher have been traced simultane-

ously, it now remains to account for the conduct of the French army under Grouchy during the same period. When the fate of his master became known, the general moved on Laon, forming a junction with the remnant of the army that was returning from Waterloo, and this combined force, together with the troops at Strasburg under Count Rapp, constituted the only available support of a stratocracy in France. On the twenty-eighth, Grouchy attacked the advanced guard of Blucher at Villers-Cotterets, but the main body coming up, he was repulsed with the loss of six pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners. Driven from this line of road, they got upon that of Meaux: there they encountered Bulow's corps, by which they were again defeated, losing five hundred prisoners, and being compelled to escape beyond the Maine. This concluded their sufferings at the hands of the enemy; after which, without further interruption, they effected their retreat to Paris.

Pursuing his route, the communication of the commissioners was forwarded to the duke, officially, by Marshal Blucher: but, upon maturer consideration he saw no reason to alter his determination, and therefore assured their excellencies, that any interview with him would be an useless waste of time. In the determination to continue his march, and bring the struggle to a consummation, he was confirmed, every moment, by intelligence of the approach of reinforcements from central Europe. The emperor of Russia committed the command of his army, headed by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, to the duke, and the army of Saxony was hastening to place itself under the standard of England. These accessions could not add to the firm resoluteness which his grace evinced in dealing with our Prussian allies, but very materially improved his power of carrying his wise and merciful designs into operation.

Having effectually secured the rear of their march by the dispersion or defeat of the army of Napoleon, and the occupation of Peronne, Cambray, and several other places of strength, the allies pursued their parallel route on Paris.—The advanced guard of the Anglo-allies crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the main body on the following day, and took up a position

with the right on the height of Richebourg, the left on the Bois de Bondy. Blucher, meanwhile, took the village of Vertus, crossed the Seine at St. Germain's, fixed his right at Plessis Piquet, his left at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. The enemy exhibited a determination to defend their capital to the last; the heights of Montmartre, and the town of St. Denis, were strongly fortified, and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vieille Mer, they inundated the ground on the north of the city. The canal de l'Ourcq was filled with water, the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, and a strong position taken on that side. The force concentrated in Paris, at this time, amounted to fifty thousand troops of the line, besides the national guard, a new levy, called *les tirailleurs de la garde*, and the *Federes*.

In this state of the allies and the enemy, various negotiations were attempted by the French commissioners with Wellington and Blucher: the former persevered in adhering strictly and literally to the articles of the 1st of March, and in obeying his instructions as a soldier in the service of the British king; but the Prussian chief seemed to merge all ideas of obedience in those of vengeance. Having failed in inducing the duke to suspend hostilities before his arrival at Paris, the commissioners proceeded to entreat a passport for Napoleon and his family, to retire to the United States of America. This, Wellington declined to grant, upon the ground that he did not possess such authority from his own government. They next inquired, whether his grace would consent to his being delivered up to the Emperor of Austria, or to the Prince-regent of England? To this his grace replied, that he had no authority to talk of such schemes:—he did not know what the Emperor of Austria would do, but he thought that his own royal master would keep him to be disposed of by common accord; but that, if they intended really to dispose of him in that way, they had much better send him to Blucher or himself at once." This advice was only conditional, and his grace was perhaps the last person in Europe who would have been happy at its adoption, for he was then aware of the sanguinary designs of the Prussian marshal against the

French emperor, and the introduction of Blucher's name in his negociation with the commissioners, was in character with the propriety and decorum of the great man on all public occasions, and calculated to allay the improper suspicions of the prince-marshal. "The Prussians," said his grace, in an official letter to a personal friend, "think the Jacobins wish to give Napoleon Buonaparte to me, believing that I will save his life; Blucher wishes to kill him, but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said, that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with *so foul a transaction*; "that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions, to become *executioners*; and that I was determined, if the sovereigns wished him to be put to death, they should appoint an executioner, which should not be me." The terms which are here employed in describing the ferocity of Blucher's character, sufficiently indicate the necessity that existed for his grace's interference,—necessity, for ages of subsequent military glory would never have obliterated the bloody stain from the page of our history, had England been, in any degree, a party to the assassination of Napoleon. It is also observable, that the remonstrance of his grace was not to be misunderstood, and that, even in the language of courtesy, he signified his determination to *insist* upon Buonaparte's being disposed of only by the common consent of the allied sovereigns of Europe. This atrocious design is another link in the long chain of guilt, and cruelty, which the Prussian chieftain wove, in his retributive war with France, and strengthens the delineation of his character, introduced, at intervals, in these pages: his presumption in claiming the spoils of Waterloo, and the glory of having conquered Napoleon, wanted but the murder of that immortal man by a braggart's hand, to consummate the assassin's vapouring autobiography. It cannot be doubted that Blucher's intention was to revenge the wrongs of his country by this cold-blooded murder; and, so fresh were the feelings of injury, which Napoleon had inflicted upon the other allied kingdoms, that their monarchs would, no doubt, while they disclaimed the act, have pardoned the perpe-

trator. Wellington foresaw the infamous objects of the emperor's inveterate enemy, and, by the firm humanity which he displayed, produced an effect which exercised an influence over the future fate of Napoleon, when he surrendered himself to the English. It may possibly be asked, whether the allied powers were seriously parties to the wicked projects of Blücher? but the vulgar violence of the individual, his infinite presumption, the general ferocity of his character, are quite sufficient foundation for charging him, individually, with the meditated crime: he who had been routed with disgrace at Ligny, who did not advance with speed sufficient to share the labours of Waterloo, when the victory was won, talked of his having put an end to Buonaparte's dancing, and, as if he had struck one blow at Waterloo, now replied to the French government, that "he should suspend hostilities when he arrived at Paris, provided Buonaparte was given up to *him*, with the château de Vincennes, and various territories and forts on the frontiers."

What a contrast does the mild humility of the great British hero present! Having calmly told the blustering Prussian that the trade of an assassin was unsuited to his rank, that the disposition of such important rights belonged not to him, but to higher authorities, he presented a beautiful example of his maxims, in his different letters of acknowledgment to the Grand Duke of Baden, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Wurtemberg, and other princes, who hastened to throw the collars of their honourable orders around his neck, and decorate his brave breast with their stars and their crosses of merit. His own royal master he requests Lord Liverpool to assure "of his eternal gratitude, for his most gracious reception of his services, and for all the favours he had received from him."

The duke had not been diverted from his own military duties by the numerous diplomatic claims upon his time and energies; but, by one skilful act, throwing a pontoon bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, he neutralized all the effects of the enemy's labours to fortify Paris, opened a communication between the Anglo-allied army and the Prussians, and exposed the capital to the assaults of the united forces of Europe. As

the army under Marshal Prince Wrede was not yet arrived, and as the allied sovereigns were daily expected, Wellington considered it more prudent to delay the attack until the result should be certain, and authority might be present to check the violence of the Prussian marshal, without the employment of still greater violence. Adopting conciliatory terms, his grace recommended to Marshal Blucher the acceptance of the proposed armistice, accompanied by the following conditions, which he declared must be inseparable from the measure. First, that the allies should remain in the position they then occupied.—Secondly, That the French army should retire from Paris across the Loire.—Thirdly, That Paris should be given over to the care of the national guard, till the king should order otherwise; and, lastly, That the time should be fixed for notice to break off the armistice.” His grace urged these conditions, as the most likely to provide for the quiet restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne; which was the result the allied sovereigns considered most beneficial, and most likely to lead to the permanent peace of Europe. He acknowledged that the marshal and himself would forfeit the vain triumph of entering Paris at the head of their victorious troops, but he doubted the sufficiency of their united armies for the reduction of the city; and he thought it probable also, that “the sovereigns would be disposed to spare the capital of their ally, and either not enter the city at all, or enter it under an armistice, such as Wellington and Blucher had then the power to sign. He earnestly urged the Prussian* to consider the reasoning he submitted to him on this occasion, reasoning obviously based on the most merciful view of the question, and return an early decision. Every step which his grace took towards the pro-

* During the few days occupied in negociation, or rather employed in endeavouring to dissuade Blucher from shedding innocent blood, by bursting the barriers and entering Paris, the Duke wrote his brief, but befitting account of the battle of Waterloo, to his old companion in arms, Lord Beresford: “You will have heard of our battle of the eighteenth. Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what boxers call gluttons. *Napoleon did not manœuvre at all.* He just moved forward in the old style, in columns—and was driven off in the old style. I never saw the British infantry behave so well.”

motion of the wishes of the sovereigns, was uniformly communicated to the secretary of state at London, and, with a caution that secured his own happy retreat at a subsequent day, he took care to obtain from his government an approbation of his great public acts, both warlike and pacificatory. One of these approving documents written by the prince-regent, was acknowledged in this loyal and dignified reply: "Sire, I have had the honour of receiving your royal highness's most gracious letter of the twenty-second of June; and, if anything could augment my gratitude, for the favour with which your royal highness has uniformly, and particularly on this occasion, received my services, it is the honour which you have done me in writing to me. Your royal highness will see, in my report of this date to the secretary of state, the strong grounds we have for hoping that we shall bring affairs here to the conclusion most wished for by your royal highness, *without a further effusion of blood*: and if that should be the case, your royal highness *will have again saved the world*."

The negotiations which followed were conducted by the Duke of Wellington solely, to whom the commissioners appealed as the organ of the allied sovereigns, although Blucher endeavoured to bully himself into respect. These gentlemen having stated the probability that the ex-emperor had sailed for America, asked whether Wellington would suspend operations; but his grace answered, that "besides Napoleon, there were his adherents, who were the declared enemies of the allies." This occasioned some hesitation, after which the conversation, important to the diplomatic character of his grace, proceeded according to his despatch of the second of July, as follows: "They begged I would tell them what would satisfy the allies upon this point. I answered, that I had no authority to talk on the subject, even from my own government, much less from the allies, and that all I could do was to give them my private opinion, which, unless otherwise instructed by my own government, I should certainly urge upon the allies with all the influence which I might be supposed to possess. I then told them that I con-

ceived the best security for Europe was the restoration of the king, and that the establishment of any other government than the king's in France, must inevitably lead to new and endless wars; that Buonaparte and the army having overturned the king's government, the natural and simple measure, after Buonaparte was prisoner, or out of the way, and the army defeated, was to recall the king to his authority; and that it was a much more dignified proceeding to recall him without conditions, and to trust to the energy of their constitution for any reforms they wished to make, either in the government or the constitution, than now to make conditions with their sovereign; and that, above all, it was important that they should recall the king without loss of time, as it would not then appear that the measure had been forced upon them by the allies.

“The commissioners expressed, individually and collectively, their earnest desire to see the king restored in the manner I had mentioned, which they said was likewise the desire of the provisional government. One of the commissioners was of opinion that the two chambers could not be brought to recall the king without conditions; and he mentioned, as those on which they would probably insist, and upon which it was desirable the king should give way—the responsibility of the administration, and the alteration of the constitution, so far as that the initiative in making the laws should be vested in the assemblies, and not in the king. I told them, regarding the first point, that I had every reason to believe that the king had determined to form a ministry, which would be individually, and collectively, responsible for all the acts of the government, and that I did not doubt that his majesty would not oppose himself to the wishes of the French people, if it was desired that the initiative in framing the laws should be vested in the assemblies; that, however, I had no authority to speak on the subject, and I recommended to them not to look after little points of difference, and, if they really wished to restore the government of their king, to do it at once, and without any conditions. In the course of this conversation, they stated that the assemblies had proclaimed Napoleon II. as emperor, only to conciliate the

officers and soldiers of the army, who had come into Paris in such numbers, after the battle, that they had been apprehensive of a civil war in Paris, if this measure had not been adopted. While we were discussing the conditions to be proposed to the king, and the evils and inconveniences which the mode of making the laws, and the want of responsibility and power in the ministers had occasioned, I received, from Sir Charles Stewart, the king's declaration of the twenty-eighth, countersigned by Mons. de Talleyrand, which I immediately communicated to the French commissioners, and pointed out to them the king's promise to make the alteration in his administration which they had proposed, and the probability that his majesty would not object to that proposed to be made in the constitution. They objected to certain paragraphs in the declaration, referable to the exclusion of certain persons from the king's presence, *to the intention announced to punish some of those concerned in the plot which had brought back Buonaparte*, and to that of calling together the old houses of the legislature; upon which, at their desire, I wrote to M. de Talleyrand a letter, of which Sir Charles Stewart will probably have sent to England a copy, which I communicated to the commissioners before I sent it. I then told them that I could not talk more on the suspension of operations, which they urged in the most earnest manner, in order to give them time to take their measures to recall the king, until I should see Marshal Blucher, to whose headquarters I promised to go that evening.

“ Before I set off, the commissioners asked me whether the appointment of a regency to conduct the affairs of the government in the name of Napoleon II., was likely to satisfy the allies, and would be such an arrangement as would induce me to stop my operations. I answered, Certainly not; that I considered the allies, after their declaration, could never treat with Napoleon or any of his family; that the appointment of Napoleon II. was to be attributed to Napoleon I., and the acknowledgment of him to the desire to conciliate the army, and that I should not stop my operations in consequence of such an arrangement. They then asked me what would be the case if

any other prince of a royal house were called to the throne of France; to which I said, that it was impossible for me to answer such loose questions; that, as an individual, I had made them acquainted with my opinion of what was best for them to do, and it rested with them either to follow this opinion or not. One of the commissioners, before I went away, took occasion to tell me, that he wished I had given a more positive answer to this last question, and I determined to take another opportunity of doing so before the commissioners should report this conversation at Paris.

“I left them at Etrées, and went to the head-quarters at Le Plessis, to give the orders for the movement of the troops in the morning, and I overtook them again in the night at Souvres. I then told them that I had considered their last question since I had seen them, and that I felt no objection to give them my opinion upon it, still as an individual—that, in my opinion, Europe had no hope of peace if any person, excepting the king, were called to the throne of France; *that any person so called, must be considered an usurper, whatever his rank and quality*; that he must act as an usurper, and must endeavour to turn the attention of the country from the defects of his title, towards war and foreign conquests; that the powers of Europe must, in such a case, guard themselves against this evil, and that I could only assure them, that, unless otherwise ordered by my government, I would exert any influence I might possess over the allied sovereigns, to induce them to insist upon securities for the preservation of peace, besides the treaty itself, if such an arrangement as they had stated were adopted. The commissioners replied, that they perfectly understood me, and some of them added, “*Et vous avez raison.*” I went on to Marshal Blucher, who was at the time on the point of attacking the French post at Vertus, and who, for that reason, could not consent to a suspension of hostilities; and he agreed in opinion with me, that as long as Napoleon remained at Paris, we could not stop our operations without insisting upon his being delivered over to us. I wrote, accordingly, in concert with the marshal, to the French commissioners, a letter, of

which I enclose the copy; and they reported to the government that night.

“In consequence, however, of Marshal Blucher’s attack upon Vertus, or for some other cause, the officer they sent with their letter was not received at, and was fired upon by, the French out-posts, and he did not reach Paris, by Bondy, till a late hour on the evening of the thirtieth, and returned only yesterday morning, with the report that Napoleon had quitted Paris, to embark for the United States, at four o’clock on the twenty-ninth. They called upon me yesterday morning with this report, and I told them, that the great obstacle to the armistice being removed, there remained only a question about the terms, which appeared to me should be, that we should halt in our positions, and not advance farther; that the French army should retire from Paris across the Loire, and that Paris should be held by the national guards of the town until the king should order otherwise. I told them that, if they agreed to these terms, I would immediately send to *prevail upon Marshal Blucher* to halt, and to send here an officer to settle the details. They contended against sending away the army, notwithstanding that they had admitted, in the conversation of the twenty-ninth, that Napoleon II. had been proclaimed by the assemblies, solely to conciliate the army; but I told them that I would not consent to suspend hostilities as long as a soldier remained in Paris.

“In fact, if they were to restore the king, and his majesty were to return to Paris, the troops remaining there, his majesty would be entirely in the hands of the assemblies and of the army, who cannot be considered in any other light than as the creatures and instruments of Napoleon. We must get rid of the army, therefore, and we may then hope that the king will be recalled without conditions, and that he will have it in his power to carry on his government without the assistance of foreign powers.”

This great example of diplomatic ability, adorned with such noble principles, with a desire for universal peace, an anxiety to save further effusion of blood, must be read with the recollec-

tion that his grace was a subject, accountable to his sovereign and his country, for every act of calm, deliberate negotiation. It must not therefore be concluded, that his grace personally considered Louis XVIII. as the most competent prince who could then be found, to wield the sceptre of a country familiar with revolutions; or, that it was his deliberate opinion, France had no right to change her form of government. Whatever were Lord Wellington's sentiments upon these points, being pledged to support the allies in restoring Louis, it was totally unnecessary for him to state, and immaterial to the catastrophe.

The Prussians were not to be restrained by any species of negotiation: having a communication opened with the British, they felt more secure in their assaults than they had been at Ligny, and, during the transit of despatches between their headquarters and the commissioners, they engaged the enemy in a sharp conflict at Issy, on the morning of the third of July, in which they had the advantage. The British having moved a corps along the left bank of the Seine towards the bridge of Neuilly, further attempts to defend the capital seemed hopeless, upon which Davoust sent out a flag of truce, the object of which was to obtain a suspension of the firing on both sides, while a military convention might be entered into, by authorized persons, at the palace of St. Cloud. Three commissioners were named on the part of the Parisians, Baron Bignon, Counts Guilleminot, and de Bondy; and on the part of the allies, Baron Müffling, and Colonel F. B. Hervey. The convention, which was based upon the acceptance of the king, withdrawal of the army, and a general amnesty, comprised eighteen articles, * all

* CONVENTION OF PARIS.

“ Paris, ce 3 Juillet, 1815.

“ Ce jourd'hui, trois Juillet, mil huit cent quinze, les Commissaires, nommés par les Commandans en Chef des Armées respectives, savoir, Monsieur le Baron Bignon, Chargé du Portefeuille des Affaires Etrangères; Monsieur le Comte Guilleminot, Chef de l'Etat, Major-Général de l'Armée Française; Monsieur le Comte de Bondy, Préfet du Département de la Seine; munis des pleins pouvoirs de Son Excellence le Maréchal Prince d'Eckmuhl, Commandant en Chef l'Armée Française d'une part: et Monsieur le Major Général Baron Müffling, muni des pleins pouvoirs de Son Altesse le Feld Maréchal Prince Blücher, Commandant en Chef

of which were, within twenty-four hours, approved by Davoust, Wellington, and Blücher, whose names were subscribed to the instrument. It must here be observed, that the Duke of Wellington, in communicating the fact of an armistice to Earl Bathurst, concluded his despatch in these remarkable terms, “This convention decides all the *military* questions at this moment existing here, and *touches nothing political*.” Upon the execution of this treaty, the French army evacuated Saint Denis, Saint Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, the heights of Mont-

l’Armée Prussienne ; Monsieur le Colonel Hervey, muni des pleins pouvoirs de Son Excellence le Duc de Wellington, Commandant en Chef l’Armée Anglaise, de l’autre ; sont convenus des Articles suivans :—

“Article 1. Il y aura une suspension d’armes entre les Armées Alliées commandées par son Altesse le Feld Maréchal Prince Blücher, Son Excellence le Duc de Wellington, et l’Armée Française sous les murs de Paris.

“Article 2. Demain l’armée Française commencera à se mettre en marche pour se porter derrière la Loire. L’évacuation totale de Paris sera effectuée en trois jours, et son mouvement pour se porter derrière la Loire sera terminé en huit jours.

“Article 3. L’Armée Française emmenara avec elle tout son matériel, artillerie de campagne caisse militaire, chevaux, et propriétés des régimens, sans aucune exception. Il en fera de même pour le personnel des dépôts, et pour le personnel des diverses branches d’administration qui appartiennent à l’armée,

“Article 4. Les malades, et les blessés, ainsi que les officiers de santé, qu’il sera nécessaires de laisser près d’eux, sont mis sous la protection spéciale de MM. les Commandans en Chef des Armées Anglaises et Prussiennes.

“Article 5. Les militaires et employés, dont il est question dans l’article précédent, pourront, aussitôt après leur rétablissement, rejoindre les corps auxquels ils appartiennent.

“6. Les femmes et les enfans de tous les individus qui appartiennent à l’Armée Française auront la liberté de rester à Paris : ces femmes pourront sans difficulté quitter Paris pour rejoindre l’armée, et emporter avec elles leurs propriétés, et celles de leurs maris.

“Article 7. Les officiers de ligne employés avec les Fédérés, ou avec les Tirailleurs de la Garde Nationale, pourront ou se réunir à l’armée ou retourner dans leurs domiciles, ou dans le lieux de leur naissance.

“Article 8. Demain, 4 Juillet, à midi, on remettra Saint Denis, Saint Ouen, Clichy, et Neuilly. Après demain, 5 Juillet, à la même heure, on remettra Montmartre : le troisième jour, 6 Juillet, toutes les barrières seront remises.

“Article 9. Le service intérieur de la ville de Paris continuera à être fait par la Garde Nationale, et par le corps de Gendarmerie Municipale.

“Article 10. Les Commandans en Chef des Armées Anglaises et Prussiennes s’engagent à respecter, et à faire respecter par leurs subordonnés, les autorités actuelles tant qu’elles existeront.

martre, and, lastly, the city of Paris. As the enemy's force continued to evacuate, the allies proceeded in their occupation of the several posts : on the sixth, the barriers were delivered to the allies—the city was occupied on the seventh—and the French king, Louis XVIII. made a public entry into his capital on the following day. Wellington had been supported by Blucher, and the troops of the low countries, in his restoration of the Bourbons, but the other allied forces were advancing with the utmost rapidity to his assistance ; so that the same

“ Article 11. Les propriétés publiques, à l'exception de celles qui ont rapport à la guerre, soit qu'elles appartenant au Gouvernement, soit qu'elles dépendent de l'autorité municipale, seront respectées, et les Puissances Alliées n'interviendront en aucune manière dans leur administration et gestion.

“ Article 12. Seront pareillement respectées les personnes et les propriétés particulières ; les habitans, et, en général, tous les individus qui se trouvent dans la capitale continueront à jouir de leurs droits et libertés, sans pouvoir être inquiétés, ni recherchés en rien relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent, ou auraient occupées, ou à leur conduite et à leurs opinions politiques.

“ Article 13. Les troupes étrangères n'apporteront aucun obstacle à l'approvisionnement de la capitale, et protégeront, au contraire, l'arrivée et la libre circulation des objets qui y sont destinés.

“ Article 14. La présente Convention sera observée, et servira de règle pour les rapports mutuels jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix.

“ En cas de rupture, elle devra être dénoncée dans les formes usitées au moins dix jours à l'avance.

“ Article 15. S'il s'élèverait des difficultés sur l'exécution de quelqu'un des Articles de la présente Convention, l'interprétation en sera fait en faveur de l'Armée Française, et de la ville de Paris.

“ Article 16. La présente Convention est déclarée commune à toutes les armées alliées, sauf en ratification des Puissances dont ces armées dépendent,

“ Article 17. Les ratifications en seront échangées demain, 4 Juillet, à six heures du matin, au Pont de Neuilly,

“ 18. Il sera nommé des Commissaires par les parties respectives, pour veiller à l'exécution de la présente Convention.

“ Fait et signé à St. Cloud, en triple expédition, par les Commissaires susnommés, les jours et au que dessus.

“ LE BARON BIGNON—LE COMTE GUILLEMINOT.

“ LE COMTE DE BONDY—LE BARON DE MUFFLING.

“ F. B. HERVEY, COLONEL.

“ Approuvé et ratifié la présente suspension d'armes.

“ A Paris le trois Juillet, mil huit cent quinze.

“ Approuve.

“ LE MARÉCHAL PRINCE D'ECKMÜHL.

“ Afterwards approved by Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington, and the ratifications were exchanged on the 4th July.

principle of operation on which he acted in opposing Napoleon at Waterloo, namely, occupying the enemy until the arrival of reinforcements, was again practicable in the siege of Paris. A grand scale of operations had been concerted by his grace at the commencement, for the conduct of the campaign, and, acting under these instructions, Prince Wrede, the Prince of Wurtemberg, the Archduke Ferdinand, Prince Schwartzenburg, and General Frimont moved on Paris, overthrowing the enemy's forces, under Rapp, La Courbe, and Suchet, wherever they opposed them, and disregarding all small bodies of French, which might infest their rear or injure their communications.

When Napoleon reached Paris after the battle of Waterloo, he assembled his ministers at the Palace Elysée, while the chamber of representatives, upon being informed of the real result of the engagement, declared their sitting permanent, and manifested the highest state of impatience and alarm. A message was delivered to them from the council, promising that they should receive a communication from the emperor in six hours, but they replied that one hour only would be granted, at the expiration of which, they would demand to know his final determination. Upon the receipt of this determined message, Regnault de St. Jean Angely, as the organ of ministers, stated, in language firm but respectful, "That the interests of France demanded that his majesty should abdicate the throne;" to which Napoleon answered, "What! do *you* say so?—*et tu, Brute?*" "You may believe," said the minister, "that it is with grief of my heart I announce to you the fatal necessity, but the well-being of France demands the sacrifice at your hands."

Napoleon hesitated no longer; he instantly signed his abdication in favour of his son, whom he caused to be proclaimed under the title of Napoleon II. Although the ex-emperor stated expressly, "Remember, gentlemen, I abdicate only in favour of my son," the question of his appointment was evaded by both chambers; and five commissioners, Fouché, Carnot, Grenier, Caulincourt, and Quinette, were named, to exercise provisionally the functions of government.

It was stated during the violent debates which accompanied these enactments, that the imperial guard had reached Rocroy—that Soult had rallied the troops, and was then at the head of sixty thousand veterans. But Ney rose with impatience, and, directing his reply to Carnot, who had made the statement, said, “It is time that the truth should be spoken. Instead of sixty thousand, it is utterly impossible to collect half that number; nor could that number be brought to face the British, after the defeat they have sustained. With respect to the imperial guard, I myself commanded it, under the emperor; and I aver that it is totally destroyed. Nothing, therefore, now remains, but to treat with the enemy for peace.” This speech produced such a sensation in the chamber, that it was at once determined to attempt those negotiations with the Duke of Wellington which have been already described.

Upon the entrance of the troops under his grace into the capital, the provisional government dissolved itself; but M. Manuel suggested the romantic idea, that the chamber should continue to sit until the representatives were removed at the point of the bayonet. This advice, being rather braggardism than bravery, was treated with contempt; and the chambers having separated, were declared dissolved by Louis XVIII., almost immediately after his entrance into Paris. The new monarch lost not a moment in organizing a government, and introduced the model of the British constitution for adoption. Talleyrand undertook to preside at the council; Fouché, duke of Otranto, became minister of police; and St. Cyr, whose adhesion to the enemies of Napoleon was pardonable, accepted the department of war. Under ordinary circumstances it would excite the utmost astonishment that so many contending elements could have been stilled and reconciled with the rapidity of thought; but Wellington was the magician who waved the wand, and Talleyrand the spirit that acted under its spell. The arrangements of the new constitution being completed in a single day, the ninth, on the following day the Emperor of Russia, the King

of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, arrived in Paris, and were visited at their hotels by Louis XVIII.

The formation of a ministry by Talleyrand appears to have been made under the actual control of the Duke of Wellington; for the names of the different persons, according as they accepted office, were communicated to his grace during the day of the eighth. His grace had obtained the appointment of Baron Müffling as governor of Paris, during the interregnum that attended the abdication of Napoleon, to appease the Prussians, and procure some uniformity of conduct in civic arrangements; but of this nomination Blucher availed himself, to inflict most shameful acts of retribution upon the nation: he caused a number of his soldiers to be quartered in the houses of the Parisians, laid contributions on Paris, Versailles, and several suburban towns, and actually commenced the destruction of the bridge in Paris which is named from the victory of Jena. The duke employed his politic manœuvres against his brother soldier, for the purpose of saving these noble monuments of art, by "suggesting to the marshal to delay the contemplated destruction until the arrival of the sovereigns." His note, dated the eighth, did not produce the effect intended, upon which his grace addressed a second communication, on the ninth, couched in the most conciliatory terms, but so explicit as to his private determination, that the marshal suddenly felt the danger of disobedience. The conduct of his grace in this transaction, characteristic of a high-born Briton, is honourable to himself individually, and ought to have secured for him the lasting gratitude of the French people: but never can that period arrive, when France, forgetful of the memory of Napoleon, shall acknowledge any debt of kindness to the man who plucked the laurel wreath from his victorious brow, and gave it to be a sport to the winds. It may be remembered that when Blucher meditated the assassination of Napoleon, Wellington interposed—*that* is one great debt which posterity cannot be so unjust as to withhold from the hero of Waterloo:

the following able letter of remonstrance to Marshal Blucher proves, incontestably, the magnitude of his claims for gratitude upon the French people, in a *second* instance, little less remarkable:—

“The subjects on which Lord Castlereagh and I conversed with your highness and Comte Gneisenau this morning (the ninth), viz., the *destruction of the bridge of Jena*, and the levy of the contribution of one hundred millions of francs upon the city of Paris, appear to me to be so important to the allies in general, that I cannot allow myself to omit to draw your highness’s attention to them *again* in this shape. The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the government are willing to change the name of the bridge. Considering the bridge as a *monument*, I beg here to observe, that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the commissioners on the part of the French army, during the negociation of the convention, viz : that the monuments and museums should be reserved for the decision of the allied sovereigns. All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the sovereigns shall arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no objection. In regard to the *contribution* laid on the city of Paris, I am convinced that your highness will acquit me of any desire to dispute the claim of the Prussian army to any advantage which can be derived from its bravery and exertions, and services to the cause; but it appears to me, that the allies will contend that *one* party to a general alliance ought not to derive *all* the benefit resulting from the operations of the army. Even suppose the allies should be inclined to concede this point to the Prussian army, they will contend for the right of considering the question,

whether France ought, or not, to be called upon to make this pecuniary sacrifice, and for that of making the concession to the Prussian army, if it should be expedient to make it. The levy and application of this contribution ought then to be a matter for the consideration and decision of all the allies; and in this point of view it is, that I intreat your highness to defer the measures for the levy of it till the sovereigns shall have arrived. Since I have had the happiness of acting in concert with your highness and the brave army under your command, all matters have been carried on by common accord, and with a degree of harmony unparalleled in similar circumstances, much to the public advantage. What I now ask is, not the d ereliction of your measures, but the delay of them for the day, or at most two days, which will elapse before the sovereigns will arrive; which cannot be deemed unreasonable, and will, I hope, be granted on account of the motive for making the request."

The cool conciliatory language of diplomacy, which Lord Wellington had employed, so happily, in arranging the affairs of distracted Europe, which had convinced and corrected Talleyrand, could not have failed in reducing the fierce soldier to a proper sense of the dignity of his position, and to a more distinct perception of the consequences of non-compliance with the sincere wishes of his grace.

On the arrival of the sovereigns, the desires of the Duke of Wellington were at once complied with; and Louis, to appease the rage of Blucher, promised to call the bridge of Jena, *Le Pont des Invalids*; and that of Austerlitz, *Le Pont de Jardin du Roi*, but history, indignant at the littleness of the Prussian chief, has long since reclaimed the names which Napoleon gave to these fine works of art, and the attempt of Blucher to destroy them has contributed, materially, to perpetuate their original appellations. On the fifteenth day of July his grace the Duke of Wellington, accompanied by the grand staff of the British army, comprising three hundred generals and officers of rank, paid their respects to the king of France at his palace of the Tuilleries, on which occasion it was that Louis distinctly noticed the magnanimous conduct of the British commander-

in chief. "To your grace," said the king, "I owe a personal obligation for your humanity, and the good conduct of your army towards my subjects."

The humanity which Louis so much applauded in the character of the Duke of Wellington, he forgot to imitate; and the moment he was reseated on a throne, to which he had been raised by no personal virtues, but by the policy of foreign princes, he commenced his proscription of the bravest soldiers in the French imperial army. The first victim of his wrath was Colonel Labedoyère, the first officer who abandoned the allegiance which necessity, and the circumstances of his country, and the hopes of recovering its faded glory, had obliged him to give to the restored royal family—charged with the crimes of treason, rebellion, and the seduction of the troops from their duty. He had committed the acts of which he was accused, but never had taken any oath of allegiance, nor had he been concerned in any plot for the recall of Napoleon from Elba; yet was he condemned on all the charges, and shot by his former companions, all as guilty as himself, upon the plain of Grenelle. But what mercy could have been expected from a monarch, whose notions of humanity were so crude and gross? When the frantic wife of the unhappy victim prostrated herself at his feet as he was entering his carriage, screaming out for mercy and pardon; with those cold-blooded sentiments that sanctioned the legal murder of her husband, he bade her be reconciled to the cruel fate of Labedoyère, as she and her child should be taken care of. In his last moments, this first victim of Louis' cruelty displayed the most touching fortitude: arrived on the fatal field, he knelt down, received the benediction of his confessor, then, without waiting for the handkerchief to be bound across his eyes, laid open his breast to his military executioners, exclaiming, "*Surtout ne me manquez pas.*"

The death of Marshal Ney, however, excited the most extensive disgust towards the new French government, from the conspicuous bravery of the individual, his splendid military talents, and the convulsed circumstances of Europe during the period in which he lived. On the sixth of July, the veteran

soldier, suspecting too truly that Louis was disposed to cement the basis of his throne with the blood of the bravest soldiers of the ex-emperor, obtained a passport from Fouché, and, under a feigned name, withdrew from Paris. Louis sustained the reputation which Ney had given him by anticipation, by hastening to banish, proscribe, and execute : two ordonnances were issued, the first degrading from their rank the peers who accepted seats in the chamber nominated by Buonaparte, after having been raised to the peerage by Louis ; the second directed the arrest and trial of eighteen generals, or officers, who betrayed the king before the twenty-third of March ; and, thirty-eight persons of rank, at the head of whom was Marshal Soult, were ordered to quit Paris. Alarmed for his safety, Ney fled to the château of a relation at Bessèris, in the department of Lot, intending to await an opportunity of escaping to the United States of America. Here he was unfortunately discovered, in a manner that tends to give a deeper and more melancholy interest to his story. Two splendid Egyptian sabres were once in the possession of Napoleon Buonaparte, first consul of France, so exquisitely finished and superbly decorated, that they were known to every family of rank in the military nation of France. As rewards for their bravery, one had been presented to Murat, king of Naples, the other to Marshal Ney, by the hand of Napoleon. While the marshal was concealed at Bessèris, a visitor to the château saw the sabre in the drawing-room, and, attracted by its splendour, described it to a person better acquainted with military matters, when it was at once concluded, that if not the sword of Murat, it must be that of Marshal Ney. Upon this suspicion the willing prefect acted, and having seized his person, committed him to prison on the fifth of August. From Bessèris he was conveyed to Aurillac, and thence to Paris, and lodged in the Abbayé. Brought before a court-martial, the members declared themselves incompetent to sit as his judges, upon which his cause was referred to the chamber of peers. In this latter tribunal he had to encounter the hatred of the Duke de Richelieu, who was eager for his death, and from whose

influence the advocacy of the eloquent Dupin was unable to rescue the accused. The advocate at first rested his defence upon the interpretation of the twelfth article in the military convention*, executed on the third of July, but this was overruled by his judges. The marshal addressed a note to the Duke of Wellington, one of the parties to that treaty, requesting to know his grace's construction; to which the following answer was returned :

“ I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the thirteenth of November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris of the third of July was made between the commander-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies on the one part, and the Prince d'Eckmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on the other; and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris. The object of the twelfth article was, to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of the offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it was never intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit.”† “ It is obvious from this letter, that the Duke of Wellington, one of the parties to

* Translation of the twelfth article of the military convention, executed between the commissioners, on the part of the French people, and the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, on the part of the allied sovereigns, on the third of July, 1815 :—“ Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general *all* individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold or *may have held*, or as to their conduct or political opinions.”

† It is to be regretted that the actual reply of the Duke of Wellington to Marshal Ney is not given, unqualified by any observations, in his published despatches, (the above being an extract from a *memorandum* respecting the event, given as explanatory, rather than exculpatory.) The death of Ney has excited strong feelings, and every document connected with it should be sub-

the capitulation of Paris, considers that that instrument contains nothing which can prevent the king from bringing Marshal Ney to trial, in such manner as his majesty may think proper." Such was the Duke of Wellington's deliberate and well-considered opinion upon the case of Marshal Ney, and for its sincerity and rectitude, his former noble life, and high reputation for justice, must plead for him with after ages. When this military execution was completed, public indignation was raised to an alarming height against his grace, and he was himself of opinion, "that the question of Ney's death would be agitated in parliament." He had even read a letter, shown to him confidentially, in which the writer accused him in plain terms, of allowing "that accomplished soldier to be judicially murdered, because he could not beat him in the field." This impeachment is contemptible, the mere ebullition of a distracted mind, at the cruel proscription of a man, the preservation of whose life would have given some little lustre to the dark and degraded government of Louis; for, as respects the duke, he had already saved Napoleon from a violent death at the hands of the Prussians, and he had repeatedly beaten Ney in the field—last of all at Waterloo.

The decision of the Duke of Wellington was founded on the interpretation of the twelfth article; in his opinion, Ney was not entitled to any advantage from that document. Davoust, however, was of a contrary opinion.—How would an English jury have acted in such a case? they would have given the prisoner the benefit of the ambiguity in the clause, and leaned to the side of mercy.

mitted to the world. A note, appended by the editor of the Wellington Despatches, states, that "the answer of his grace was not inserted according to date, it being repeated in this paper," the memorandum; but it does not appear whether the *whole* of the duke's reply is contained in the memorandum, nor is the note of the marshal to his conqueror submitted. Had we no other reason for desiring these instruments, the circumstance of the part his grace bore in the unfortunate catastrophe being very differently viewed by different writers, induces us to object to the least appearance, or desire, of suppressing evidence. There is not another passage in the biography of Wellington, the virtue, wisdom, or humanity of which, posterity will be disposed to question.

It is true, the duke stated on the fourth of July, that the convention touched nothing *political*, but the last words of the twelfth article state that the capitulators shall not be called to account for *political opinions*. It is urged that Marshal Ney, although he naturally availed himself of this plea, acting under the advice of counsel, could not really have construed it as his advocate pretended to do, or he never would have fled in disguise from Paris; nor would the Duke of Otranto have aided him in his escape, unless he also was convinced that Ney's life was not protected by any enactment or existing treaty. These are but subterfuges, which those have affected who are determined that the blood of Ney shall leave no stain on the brightness of Wellington's after-name; but they include no argument or answer. Ney fled from Paris, because he had not only disenthralled himself to future employment in the army of Louis XVIII., but dreaded the vengeance of that weak monarch; and the Duke of Otranto granted him a passport, because there was nothing *contrary* to the treaty in doing so, and because he also desired that the marshal should escape from the vengeance of the king and of the Duke de Richelieu. Whether Ney's punishment for treason, when the revolutionary history of France is remembered, was an act of justice; whether foreign generals possessed a right to interfere with the decision of a French tribunal in the administration of its laws; whether a general amnesty, which Wellington at one time recommended, would not have been more noble, just, and prudent—are speculations belonging to the general history of Europe: but whether the Duke of Wellington ought to have interfered, not in the trial, but execution of Ney, is a question inseparable from his grace's biography. The grounds of Lord Wellington's refusal to spare the brave soldier's life have been explained by himself; and those who most ardently admire the great achievements of the hero, and whose judgment has been carried captive by the splendour of his character, would wish "that the recording angel had dropped a tear on this page of his life, and blotted it out for ever." That Wellington ought to have shown mercy to

the fallen general, was a question that rested in his own bosom, and on his own view of the moral turpitude of his conduct; that he had the power can hardly be doubted, since his opinion was solicited; that he permitted the king of France to gratify his vindictive feelings, by shedding the blood of the very soldier, the splendour of whose military talents contributed largely to the glory of our conquest at Waterloo, (for Ney it was who contested that memorable day with the allies) is a subject of regret. Wellington had conquered India, taught Denmark a lesson of policy, freed the Peninsula from the disciplined armies of France, and, lastly, overthrown her imperial legions, headed by the most remarkable character that has appeared in Europe during the lapse of many centuries. There was one conquest he failed in accomplishing—a victory over himself. Equal to any of his great predecessors of ancient Greece or Rome, in integrity, wisdom, and martial renown, and superior to them in humanity, had he but spared his enemy, about to perish by the hand of the executioners, he might then, indeed, “have trod upon the Greek and Roman name.”

The conduct of Marshal Ney after his condemnation was such as might have been expected from “the bravest of the brave,” as his admiring countrymen continue to describe him. He received the farewell visit of his wife, his sister, and his children with stoical serenity; and when the interview had been sufficiently prolonged, in a low tone he entreated them to retire. He was attended by the curate of St. Sulpice, from whose hand he received the sacrament, and, proceeding to the garden of the Luxembourg, the place appointed for his execution, approached the detachment of veterans appointed to despatch him with a firm step. Then taking off his hat, and crossing his arms, he said, “Soldiers, I am innocent; I die innocent; and I appeal from this iniquitous judgment to God, and to posterity.” Immediately after he unfolded his arms, and called out, “Do your duty.” His death was instantaneous,—his memory will be lasting.

Another victim to Louis’ vengeance, who had been aban-

done by the allies to an ignominious death, was Lavalette: of less importance in the transactions of that period, he met with a happier fortune, being assisted in his escape from prison by a fond and courageous wife; and his sufferings having awakened the sympathy of three gallant English gentlemen, Sir Robert Wilson, Captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce. Had Louis been more successful in bringing his enemies to the scaffold, or to the field of death, he would, most probably, have proceeded to still greater lengths in bloodshed, but the conduct of the English threw a degree of ridicule over his sanguinary determinations, and proscriptions were discontinued.

While the allies were menacing Paris, and reinforcements momentarily expected, Napoleon retired first to Malmaison, and a few days afterwards to Rochefort; here the frigate destined to carry him to America was ready to receive him, but the harbour was so closely blockaded by the English, that escape was impossible. Being informed of the capitulation of Paris, he became apprehensive of treachery at the hands of Fouché or Talleyrand, and immediately applied to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, which lay off the mouth of the harbour, to ascertain what he had to expect, should he surrender himself to the English. The English captain informed Las Casas and L'Allemand, the ex-emperor's *attachées*, that he could only convey Napoleon to England, there to be received as his royal master should determine. Confiding in English generosity, he accepted a passage on board the *Bellerophon*, and sailed for Plymouth harbour.

From Rochefort, he addressed the following letter to the prince-regent of England, which he entrusted, for safe delivery, to the hands of General Gourgaud.

“Exposed to factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to place myself on the hearths of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, which I demand of your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.—Napoleon.”

This classical production was never honoured with a reply by the prince-regent, and the British cabinet decided upon transporting the ex-emperor to the sea-girt rock of St. Helena, to perish by slow disease and lingering death. Against this cruel and ignoble sentence, Napoleon protested, and employed the most powerful arguments to show, that England did not possess such a right over his personal liberty ; but, in modern times, there have not been, in the same kingdom of Europe, a regent and a minister of more haughty bearing, and obdurate hearts, than those who then held England's political helm. His protest was as unproductive of results, as his private letter to the prince : and the ex-emperor sailed for the island of St. Helena, and there he lived an honoured exile for a few slow-revolving years. His fallen fortune—it has since been said, also an hereditary complaint, accelerated in its destructiveness by the severity of his keeper, Sir Hudson Lowe—led to an earlier death than his heartless enemies had anticipated. Informed of his situation, he spoke of his approaching end with perfect composure, and, with the assistance of Bertrand, made a careful will, evincing a heart overflowing with gratitude and kindness. He expired—on the field-bed on which he had slept at Austerlitz—with calmness, in the arms of his faithful companions, Bertrand and Montholon, on the fifth of May, 1821, aged fifty-one years and nine months, and was buried in a valley, which himself had selected, with all the military honours due to a deceased general. Here the remains of this extraordinary man, once the admiration as well as terror of half of our globe, were quietly interred, and lay in peace for nineteen years, when the French people, as if suddenly awakened to a just value of all his wise institutions, could set no bounds to their veneration for his memory, and the legislature passed a public decree for the removal of the ashes of Napoleon le Grand from the rock of St. Helena, in the Atlantic ocean, to a tomb which was to be raised to receive them in the Hospital of Invalids.

The allies being in possession of Paris, the king proceeded in the re-organization of his government fearlessly ; he concluded his military executions and banishments of many Bu-

napartists, and endeavoured to assuage the angry feelings of those who were most involuntarily his subjects. But the violence of the Prussians kept the worst passions of the people in active operation; and the English, not unfrequently, were the innocent victims of an injured citizen's vengeance. Two English officers were fired at, on the evening of the twelfth of July, and narrowly escaped destruction, while others of our army, on a previous occasion, were less fortunate.* Time and kind treatment might have mitigated the animosity of the vanquished towards the conquerors, had not a new scene opened, fraught with inconceivable grief, and anguish, to the whole French nation. This consisted in the removal of the pictures and statues—of which Napoleon had despoiled the different palaces in Europe, to enrich the capital of his kingdom—to their original positions and proprietors. Had the restoration been conducted in an honourable manner, regret alone should have been the feeling to which this event should have given occasion; but there is reason to believe that the victors retaliated, by carrying back to their respective countries, property which had never belonged to them, and by destroying much which could not be removed.

The English were not involved in this resumption, as Napoleon had never humbled that nation by conquest, nor planted his standard on her shores. The gold spurs of the ex-emperor, which Wellington presented to the prince-regent, were legitimate spoils of war, which fell into the hands of the Prussians, in their pursuit of the enemy, after the battle of Waterloo; and the eagles, that had been laid at the feet of his royal highness,

* “Licutenant-Colonel Robert Torrens, and Major Stavely, attended by an orderly dragoon, were sent into Paris on a mission by the Duke of Wellington, escorted by a French field-officer, who had been sent out to accompany them. The soldiers menaced them when passing the first barriers; but on entering the faubourg St. Denis, they were surrounded, and fired upon: the French officer disappeared, the orderly dragoon was killed, and Major Stavely fell, severely wounded; Colonel Torrens escaped by setting spurs to his horse, and galloping into Paris. This disgraceful transaction, however, took place before the evacuation of Paris by the army.”—*Scott and Jackson's Military Life of the Duke of Wellington*, Vol. ii. p. 618.

were bought with the best blood of Englishmen. But a species of retributive spoliation was now introduced by the Prussians, and imitated too faithfully by others of our allies, which, although it originated in justice, degenerated into licentiousness. Under the pretext of removing those works of art which Napoleon had plundered, and by concentrating in Paris fed national vanity, and pandered to the worst passions of his people, something more than the original possessions were abstracted from the Louvre. An officer of Blucher's staff, being asked if *all* the Prussian works of art were recovered, answered laconically, "At *least*."

A catalogue was compiled, and printed, of all the works of art in Paris, which had been plundered by the republican, consular, and imperial armies, assigning the particular gallery to which each had originally belonged; the Prussian general visited the Louvre daily, with his catalogue in hand, and whenever his eye fell upon the words, 'Dusseldorf Gallery,'—he said immediately, "O, yes, I recollect it—take it down!" Some may regret the dissolution of this vast concentration of genius in a city so central, and amongst a people who almost worshipped the splendid works themselves; but the violent and unjust means by which their possession was acquired, rendered their continuance an encouragement to aggression and rapine. The King of the Netherlands solicited the interference of the Duke of Wellington, in procuring the restoration of the works of art removed from Holland and Belgium; and, as his majesty's troops were under the duke's command, his grace was the proper authority to be addressed on the occasion; but, as the English had not sustained individual loss of that description, and as it is the privilege of Englishmen to speak and to publish their opinions unreservedly, the powerful Buonapartist party in England exclaimed loudly against the duke for the share he had taken in the restitution. His grace's defence, addressed to Lord Castlereagh on the twenty-third of September, affords a conclusive reply to the clamours of the bitterest enemies he ever encountered, the discontented amongst his own countrymen, and justifies the

conduct of our allies, in seizing the works of art in the Louvre, of which they had been violently despoiled.

“A great deal,” observed his grace, “has been lately said here respecting the measures I have been obliged to adopt, in order to obtain for the King of the Netherlands, his paintings and other things out of the museum; and, as these reports may reach the ears of his royal highness, I communicate to you the following account of the whole affair, for his royal highness’s information. A short time after the arrival of the sovereigns at Paris, the minister of the King of the Netherlands demanded the pictures belonging to his sovereign, as did the ministers of other sovereigns; and, as I was informed, could not obtain a satisfactory answer from the French government. After several conversations with me upon the subject, he sent to your lordship an official note, which was laid before the ministers of the allied powers, assembled at a conference: upon which the business was several times taken into consideration, in order to discover a means of doing justice to the claimants of the objects of art in the museum, without hurting the feelings of the King of France. Meantime the *Prussians* had obtained for his majesty, not only all the pictures belonging to Prussia Proper, but also those which belonged to the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and all those that were the property of his Prussian majesty. The affair now became urgent, and your lordship wrote a note (of the eleventh instant) in which the matter was fully treated. The minister of the King of the Netherlands, having not yet received any satisfactory answer from the French government, applied to me as the commander-in-chief of the army of the King of the Netherlands, and asked whether I had any objection to employing his majesty’s troops to obtain possession of what was indubitably his majesty’s property. I laid this question also before the ministers of the allied monarchs; and as no objection was found, I thought it my duty to take the necessary steps to obtain what was his right. I spoke in consequence with Prince Talleyrand upon this subject, communicated to him what had passed at the conference, and the reasons I had

for thinking that the King of the Netherlands had a right to the paintings: and requested him to lay the matter before the king, and to beg his majesty to do me the favour to determine the manner in which I might obtain the object of the King of the Netherlands, without in any manner offending his majesty.

“Prince Talleyrand promised me an answer by the next evening; but, as I did not receive it, I repaired to him in the night, had a second conference with him, in which he gave me to understand, that the king could give no orders upon the subject; that I might do as I thought proper, and negotiate with M. Denon, the director of the museum. In the morning I sent my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Freemantle, to M. Denon, who told him that he had no orders to give up any paintings out of the gallery, and that he should suffer none to be taken away but by force. I then sent Colonel Freemantle to Prince Talleyrand, to acquaint him with this answer, and to inform him that the troops would go the next morning, at twelve o'clock, to take possession of the paintings belonging to the King of the Netherlands; and to declare, that if anything unpleasant should arise from this measure, the king's ministers, and not I, were answerable for it. Colonel Freemantle likewise informed M. Denon of the measure that was to be taken. It was, however, not necessary to send any troops, because a Prussian guard constantly occupied the gallery, and the pictures were taken away without any assistance being required from any of the troops under my command, except a few who have assisted as labourers in the taking down and packing up. It has been alleged, that by having been the instrument of carrying away from the gallery (of the Tuileries) the pictures of the King of the Netherlands, I had been guilty of a breach of a treaty which I had myself made; and as there is no mention made of the museum in the treaty of the twenty-fifth of March, and it seems now the treaty spoken of is the military convention of Paris, it is necessary to show how this convention is connected with the museum. I do not want to prove that the

allies were at war with France; there is no doubt that their armies entered Paris under a military convention, concluded with an officer of the government, the prefect of the department of the Seine, and an officer of the army, who represented both authorities, at that moment present at Paris, and empowered by those authorities to negotiate and conclude for them. The article of the convention which is said to have been broken is the eleventh, which relates to the public property. I positively deny that this article has any reference whatever to the museums or galleries of paintings. The French commissioners introduced in the original *projet* an article to provide for the security of this species of property; but Prince Blucher would not consent, saying, that there were pictures in the gallery that had been taken from Prussia, and which Louis XVIII. had promised to restore; which, however, had never been done. I repeated this circumstance to the French commissioners, and they proposed to accept the article, with the exception of the Prussian pictures; and to this proposal I answered, that I was there as the ally of all the nations in Europe, and that I must claim, for other nations, all that was conceded to the Prussians. I added, that I had no instructions concerning the museum, nor any grounds to form an opinion how the sovereigns would act; that they would certainly urge that the king should fulfil his obligations; and I advised to omit the article entirely, and to reserve this affair for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive. Thus stands the affair of the museum in reference to the treaty. The convention of Paris is silent upon it, and a negotiation took place, which left the business to the decision of the sovereigns. Taking it for granted, that the silence of the treaty of Paris, of May, 1814, respecting the museum, had given the French government an indisputable claim to the specimens contained in it, upon all future occasions, it cannot be denied that this claim was annihilated by this negotiation. Those who negotiated for the French government judged, that the victorious armies had a right to take the works of art from the museum; and they, therefore,

endeavoured to save them by introducing an article into the military convention. This article was rejected, and the claims of the allies greatly advanced by the negociation on their side; and this was stated as the ground of rejecting the article. Not only, then, the military convention did not in itself guarantee the possession, but the transaction above recited tended to weaken the claim to the possession by the French government, which is founded upon the silence of the treaty of Paris, of May, 1814.

“The allies, then, having the contents of the museum justly in their power, could not do otherwise than restore them to the countries from which, contrary to the practice of civilized warfare, they had been torn during the disastrous period of the French revolution, and the tyranny of Buonaparte. The conduct of the allies regarding the museum, at the period of the treaty of Paris, might be fairly attributed to their desire to conciliate the French army, and to consolidate the reconciliation with Europe, which the army at that period manifested a disposition to effect. But the circumstances are now entirely different. The army disappointed the reasonable expectation of the world, and seized the earliest opportunity of rebelling against their sovereign, and of giving their services to the common enemy of mankind, with a view to the revival of the disastrous period which had passed, and of the scenes of plunder which the world had made such gigantic efforts to get rid of. This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, they have been disbanded by the united counsel of the sovereigns; and no reason can exist why the powers of Europe should do injustice to their own subjects, with a view to conciliate them again. Neither has it ever appeared to me to be necessary that the allied sovereigns should omit this opportunity to do justice, and to gratify their own subjects, in order to gratify the people of France. The feeling of the people of France upon this subject must be one of national vanity only. It must be a desire to retain these specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them, as, upon that subject, artists, connoisseurs, and

all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat, but because they were obtained by military concessions, of which they are the trophies.

“The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations, would naturally induce other nations to wish, now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to their rightful owners; and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them. It is, besides, on many accounts, desirable, as well for their own happiness as for that of the world, that the people of France, if they do not already feel that Europe is too strong for them, should be made sensible of it; and that, whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual powers in Europe, the day of retribution must come. Not only, then, would it, in my opinion, be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the people of France on this subject, at the expense of their own people, but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would deprive them of the opportunity of giving the people of France a *great moral lesson*.”

Had this moral lesson been given for their future weal, the example, possibly, had not been lost; but its publication was attended with circumstances of so much violence and vengeance, that ancient enmities were revived, and fresh hatreds engendered between the citizens and the allied armies. The Duke of Wellington complained, at the commencement of the resumption, to Lord Bathurst, of the misconduct of the allies, in terms that marked a strong feeling of indignation. His grace conceived that the services of the English army were then no longer necessary, but that since they were still to be detained in Paris, such was the system of plunder meditated, that reinforcements would be required to restrain the resentment of the inhabitants; and his despatches from Paris breathe an anxious desire for peace, and for a final adjustment of the points that were to be settled amongst the allies. That

the consummation of his grace's objects was much to be wished for by every respecer of justice and mercy, may be concluded from the language and tenor of Prince Blucher's *defence* of his conduct on the same occasion:—"As my conduct," said the marshal, "has been publicly animadverted upon, for not having allowed the property plundered from Prussia by a *banditti*, to remain in the museum of the Louvre, I have only to remark, that, ably supported by the illustrious Wellington, I pursued the *thieves*, who had despoiled many of the nations of Europe of their inestimable monuments of the fine arts. I *attacked* and *dispersed* them, and restored to my country the plunder they had unjustly taken; spurning the idea of negotiating with the French commissioners on this subject: they may now thank Providence for our not following their base example." This apology was addressed to Baron Müffling, the Prussian governor of Paris, with a desire that it might be published; and, however justifiable the resumption of their property might be, the manner in which it was executed, and the language by which it is sought to be defended by Marshal Blucher, are as little creditable to him, as the assumption of his having attacked and dispersed the French army under Napoleon.

In addition to the restoration of the spoils of war, won by conquest from the rest of Europe by the French, and placed once more in the power of their former proprietors by the victories of Wellington, the allies were impressed with a strong desire to lower and degrade the French people, by every possible infliction for which a pretext could be obtained. This conduct deceived the British ministers, and induced them to imagine that the design was as practicable as politic; but the Duke of Wellington conceived that it was neither one nor the other, and, furthermore, that it reflected dishonour upon its authors, the treaty of Paris being still in operation, and binding upon the allies.

It was the deliberate judgment of the duke, expressed in a despatch that displayed his usual habit of profound thinking, that the French revolution and the treaty of Paris had left France,

in too great strength for the rest of Europe, weakened as all the European powers were by the wars in which they had been engaged with France—by the destruction of all the fortresses and strong holds in the Low Countries and Germany—and, by the ruin of their finances. His grace was of opinion, that our own declarations, treaties, and the irregular accession which Louis XVIII. was allowed to make to that of the twenty-fifth of March, precluded the allies from making any material inroad upon the state of possession by the treaty of Paris. He denied that the treaty of the 25th of March applied solely to the allies, and that the French people had, by any conduct of theirs, disentitled themselves to the benefit of that guarantee. It was true that the French people had submitted to *Buonaparte*, but it was absurd to imagine that the allies, in one fortnight after the battle of Waterloo, would have been in possession of Paris, if the French people *in general* had not been favourably disposed to the cause which the allies were disposed to favour. In the north, the south, and in all parts of France, with the exception of Champagne, Alsace, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Dauphiné, the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to the re-elevation of Napoleon. The assistance which the king and his party afforded was, undoubtedly, of a passive description, but, it is highly probable, the result of the operations of the allies would have been different from that which followed, had the king declined to join their party, and had the people opposed the allies. His grace was of opinion, therefore, that the allies had “*no just right*” to make any inroad on the treaty of Paris; and he conceived that the measures which justice required of them in this instance, were also consistent with their real interests. His grace was strongly opposed to the demanding of any cession from France, under the clear conviction, that such a demand would defeat the object of the allied powers in the undertaking of that war.

“That which has been their object,” observed his grace, “has been to put an end to the French revolution, to obtain peace for themselves and their people, to have the power of reducing their overgrown military establishments, and the

leisure to attend to the internal concerns of their several nations, and to improve the situation of their people. The allies took up arms against Buonaparte, because it was certain the world could not be at peace as long as he should possess, or should be in a situation to obtain, supreme power in France; and care must be taken in making the arrangements consequent upon our success, that we do not leave the world in the same unfortunate situation respecting France, that it would have been in if Buonaparte had continued in possession of his power.

“It is impossible to surmise what would be the line of conduct of the king and his government, upon the demand of any considerable cession from France, upon the present occasion. It is certain, however, that whether the cession should be agreed to or not by the king, the situation of the allies would be very embarrassing.

“If the king were to refuse to agree to the cession, and were to throw himself upon his people, there can be no doubt that those divisions would cease which have hitherto occasioned the weakness of France. The allies might take the fortresses and provinces which might suit them, but there would be no genuine peace for the world, no nation could disarm, no sovereign could turn his attention from the affairs of this country. If the king were to agree to make the cession, which from all that one hears is an event by no means probable, the allies must be satisfied, and must retire; but I would appeal to the experience of the transactions of last year, for a statement of the situation in which we should find ourselves. Last year, after France had been reduced to her limits of 1792, by the cession of the Low Countries, the left bank of the Rhine, Italy, and other territories, the allies were obliged to maintain each in the field, half of the war-establishment stipulated in the treaty of Chaumont, in order to guard their conquests, and what had been ceded to them; and there is nobody acquainted with what passed in France during that period, who does not know that the general topic of conversation was the recovery of the left bank of the Rhine as the frontier of France, and that the unpopularity of the government with the army, was to be attri-

buted to their supposed disinclination to war, in order to recover those possessions. There is no statesman, who, with these facts before his eyes—with the knowledge that the justice of the demand of a great cession from France, under existing circumstances, is at least doubtful, and that the cession would be made against the inclination of the sovereign and all descriptions of his people—would venture to recommend to his sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies upon a peace establishment. We must, on the contrary, if we take this large cession, consider the operations of the war as deferred till France shall find a suitable opportunity of endeavouring to regain what she has lost; and, after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them.

“ In my opinion, then, we ought to continue to keep our great object, the genuine peace and tranquillity of the world, in our view, and shape our arrangement so as to provide for it. Revolutionary France is more likely to distress the world, than France, however strong in her frontier, under a regular government; and that is the situation in which we ought to endeavour to place her. With this view, I prefer the temporary occupation of some of the strong places, and to maintain for a time a strong force in France, both at the expense of the French government, and under strict regulation, to the permanent cession of even all the places which, in my opinion, ought to be occupied for a time. These measures will not only give us, during the period of occupation, all the military security which could be expected from the permanent cession, but, if carried into execution in the spirit in which they are conceived, they are in themselves the bond of peace.

“ There is no doubt that the troops of the allies stationed in France will give strength and security to the government of the king, and that their presence will give the king leisure to form his army in such manner as he may think proper. The expectation also of the arrival of the period at which the

several points occupied shall be evacuated, would tend to the preservation of peace, while the engagement to restore them to the king, or his legitimate heirs or successors, would have the effect of giving additional stability to his throne. In answer to the objections to a *temporary* occupation, contained in ——— paper, drawn from the state of things in ———, I observe, that the temporary occupation by the troops of the allies of part of France, will be with views entirely different from those which dictated the temporary occupation of ——— by the French troops; and if the measure is carried into execution, on the principle of supporting the king's government and of peace, instead of, as in ———, with views of immediate plunder and ultimate war, the same results cannot be expected.

“I am likewise aware of the objection to this measure, that it will not alone eventually apply a remedy to the state of weakness, in relation to France, in which the powers of Europe have been left by the treaty of Paris, but it will completely for a term of years. This term of years, besides the advantage of introducing into France a system and habits of peace, after twenty-five years of war, will enable the powers of Europe to restore their finances: it will give them time and means to reconstruct the great artificial bulwarks of their several countries, to settle their governments, and to consolidate their means of defence. France, it is true, will still be powerful, probably more powerful than she ought to be in relation to her neighbours; but if the allies do not waste their time and their means, the state of security of each and of the whole, in relation to France, will, at the end of the period, be materially improved, and will probably leave but little to desire. Upon the whole, then, I entirely concur with your lordship in thinking a *temporary* occupation the most desirable.”

The wise and liberal views, here urged by the duke upon the English minister, should, if France could disencumber herself of the prejudice she entertains against the vanquisher of Napoleon, lay her under an eternal obligation to the hero.

Had the decision, as to the occupation, rested with the Prussians, no mercy was to be expected; had Lord Castlereagh been left to his despotic counsels, measures of the greatest severity would assuredly have been adopted, for such was the undeviating maxim of that minister's policy. To the Duke of Wellington solely, therefore, are the French people indebted for those great, wise, and liberal views, by which the burdens of their calamity were diminished, and the period shortened when liberty would return and visit them again. The Prussians, and others of the allies, viewed France as a criminal deserving of capital punishment for the thefts and murders her children had committed. The great duke looked on her as a prodigal amongst the nations of the earth, and wished that time should be given for repentance, and an opportunity afforded to regenerated France, of resuming her place in the great family of mankind, which she had forfeited by her violence. It has been urged by recent writers, that the general policy of the duke, in this mediation between the powers of Europe, has not been sustained by the subsequent revolution of events; but the analyst of his history will discover that the error belongs not the Duke of Wellington, but to the allied sovereigns; for, to them is to be ascribed the policy of restoring the legitimate race—to Wellington only the execution of the project: the principle of such a restoration may have been erroneous, in which case his grace argued right from wrong principles. The duke's opinion, at that period, upon the prudence and justice of setting up Louis XVIII. upon the throne, cannot be ascertained from any other authority than his despatches; and from a careful perusal and analysis of these able documents, it appears that he was silent upon that point, when the question was an open one; when it was decided by the allies, he obeyed the instructions of his government, although in some instances he avowed his displeasure at the French king's obstinacy and ingratitude.

The duke's opinion, communicated to Lord Castlereagh, became the basis of that arrangement which was subsequently entered into between the allied powers. On the twenty-sixth of

September, the first treaty was executed, in which the allied sovereigns declared their resolution of making Christianity the basis of their conduct and actions; and the prince-regent of England was invited to become one of the "Holy Alliance." His royal highness declined the honour, but expressed his approbation of its tendency. On the twentieth of November following, a second treaty was formed, in which it was agreed "that the allies should be indemnified for their recent exertions, both by cessions of territory and pecuniary exactions. Compliance with the first condition laid open a free passage into the heart of France—with the second, demanded a contribution of nine hundred millions of francs. These hard terms did not constitute the entire humiliation of France, but seventeen fortified towns were delivered to the allies, to be held by an army of occupation, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men, for the space of five years, and maintained at the expense of the French people. Such were the principal articles of the two treaties of Paris, and such the bitter fruits of the hundred days' dominion of Napoleon. Even in these hard conditions the liberality of Wellington may be traced, for it was his hand that substituted the word *temporary* for *permanent* occupation.

While the Duke of Wellington, at Paris, continued to discharge the duties of commander-in-chief of the Anglo-allies, of military counsellor to the king of France and his royal brethren, and assumed, in addition, the care of all the great national interests of Europe, his grateful countrymen carried their joyous demonstrations to an extravagant excess. Before any official account of the successes in the Netherlands had reached the British government, on the morning of the twentieth the country was put in possession of the fact, that Wellington had conquered Napoleon, by the arrival of Mr. Sutton, the proprietor of a series of vessels that passed between Colchester and Ostend. The general character of the English people is that of coolness, independence, and apparent indifference to the occupation of others; but it has been frequently demonstrated that these chilly qualities, whenever the occasion

demands, warm into a manly courage and wise enthusiasm, which qualify them for the accomplishment of whatever can be done by human energies. When Mr. Sutton, one of those calculating British merchants, whose devotion to man's legitimate occupation Napoleon in vain attempted to depreciate, first learned the glorious news of the victory of Mont St. Jean, he, at his own private cost, sailed for England, and was the first to communicate the happy tidings to his countrymen. This was not an embassy of vanity or ostentation, it was a sincere emanation of British character, such as has existed for many centuries; and had a reward been tendered for his services, he would have rejected it with indignation, as implying that his love for his country could be measured by gold. The houses of parliament were sitting, when the despatches of his grace arrived on the twenty-second of June, detailing the circumstances of the crowning victory. The effect produced is indescribable; both parties of those august assemblies, merging their political differences for the time, gave way to the most rapturous transports, and declared that the honours hitherto conferred on Wellington fell infinitely short of the splendour or importance of his achievements. On the twenty-second Lord Castlereagh, Wellington's early friend, both in private and parliamentary life, had the gratification to bring down a message from the prince-regent to the commons, noticing the victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington over Napoleon, and requesting a further provision for his grace, as a testimony of national gratitude. This recommendation was followed up by the munificent grant of two hundred thousand pounds, to build or purchase a mansion and estate for the Duke of Wellington, accompanied by the most flattering acknowledgments of his services from all parties in the kingdom. Earl Bathurst proposed, in the house of lords, a vote of thanks to the hero and his little army, which was received not merely with unanimity, but with loud acclamations. The Marquis of Lansdowne, who did not then form part of the administration, generously came forward, to swell the sounds of joy that were to go forth from that assembly. He declared that he could not

conscentiously give a silent vote. When he considered the important consequences which must result, independent of its military or political effects—when he contemplated the field of battle as the scene, where, from the talents of the respective chiefs, the rival qualities of the respective troops of two nations were to be displayed, and the power of every officer and every private soldier were to be brought to a public trial, and then looked at the result, great and indubitable as he held it to be, it was impossible for him to abstain from doing all in his power to render the record of that as interminable and imperishable as the glory that had been acquired by it. The event of this day would in its effects extend far beyond the fate of those who were engaged in it,—beyond the other events and interests, great as they were, of the present times. It was one of those events which formed the most valuable part of national property and history: and like events of that description, to none of which this was inferior, it would become one of the clearest titles of the glory of the nation, the charter of its fame. He therefore gave his cordial concurrence in voting for a monument as imperishable as the glory which had been gained by the transaction. The splendour and national importance of the event were such as almost to stifle the feeling of individual calamity, and to make us look upon the brave who had fallen, as we regard the fate of those *quos neque lugeri neque plangi fas est*.

In addition to the substantial marks of lasting gratitude which the nation by its parliament testified, humble, but not less sincere demonstrations were afforded throughout the kingdom by illuminations, by continued pealing of joy-bells, and by the adoption of every practicable mode of expressing public exultation. A form of prayer and thanksgiving for the recent victory was read in all the churches, on Sunday, the ninth of July;—a subscription, exceeding one hundred thousand pounds,*

* On this memorable occasion, when public gratitude pleaded so loudly and earnestly in favour of the widow and the orphan, the prince-regent descended from his accustomed hauteur, and deigned to recommend that the Archbishop of Canterbury should urge the clergy throughout the kingdom to give their

was collected at the same early date, for the relief of the widows and orphans of the brave men who fell at the battle of Waterloo. Public monuments were decreed to the late Sir Thomas Picton and Sir W. Ponsonby: the gallant Earl of Uxbridge, who commanded the cavalry on the memorable day of the eighteenth, was created Marquess of Anglesea—all the other general officers were rewarded by the order of the Bath; and it was determined, that from that date, pensions for wound should increase as the rank of the individual rose. It was permitted also to the regiments that had been in the action, to have the name “Waterloo” inscribed on their colours; and every soldier who survived the battle was presented with a silver medal, and permitted to reckon that day as two years’ service. Individual instances were not wanting of strong patriotic feeling; and, amongst those that are recorded, perhaps that of the Rev. John Norcross is not the least remarkable. This generous and kind-hearted man wrote to the Duke of Wellington, requesting that he would name an individual amongst the non-commissioned officers or privates, who fought on the eighteenth of June, whom he considered most worthy of a handsome pecuniary donation; his grace recommended lance-serjeant Graham, of the Coldstream regiment, as most deserving of the reverend gentleman’s bounty. The reply of his grace on this interesting occasion, testifies, very decidedly, his perfect acquaintance with the character of the people whose liberties he had so nobly defended, and the justice he administered to them invariably reflects a compliment upon the great individual who had succeeded in being raised to the chief command of their armies. “I cannot resist,” observed the duke, “to trouble you for another moment, to express my sense of your conduct. It is the patriotic spirit which has induced you to make this sacrifice, and which so generally prevails in England, which has given so much encouragement

valuable aid in the promotion of a general and liberal subscription. The liberality of the duke tended to swell the patriotic fund to a still larger amount, by his relinquishment of one half of the parliamentary compensation for the prize-property taken in the Peninsular campaigns.

to the discipline and courage of the troops, and it is to this spirit that we owe the advantages we have acquired in the field." His grace's acknowledgments to the mayor of Brussels, so similar in character, and referring, as it does, to that inestimable humanity which confers such a lustre on his name, may not inaptly be admitted here, in continuation of the anecdote of Mr. Norcross's patriotism. The benevolence and kindness shown by the inhabitants of Brussels generally, to the wounded English, has been already noticed and acknowledged, but the humanity of the mayor of that town was accompanied by a degree of generosity never excelled, "he literally and figuratively gave wine and beer when water would have sufficed." To this excellent man, his grace thus wrote on the thirteenth of August: "I take this opportunity of writing, to thank you, and to beg that you will express my gratitude to the inhabitants of Brussels and its environs, for the care and kindness they have shown to the wounded officers and soldiers of the army under my command. The services which we have had it in our power to render the city of Brussels, in saving it from the hands of a cruel enemy, by the efforts that have been made and by the bravery of the troops, almost under its very walls, gave us reason to hope that the inhabitants would relieve, as far as lay in their power, those who had been the victims. But I did not expect the tender care, the kindness, the inhabitants have displayed towards us; and I beg you to believe, and to let them know, that their conduct has made, upon us all, an impression which will never be effaced from our memory. I well know of what value, on such occasions, is the example of the magistrates, and I beg you to believe that I duly appreciate that which you have given.—Signed, Wellington, *Prince of Waterloo*."

Manifestations of England's grateful sense of Wellington's great services still continued daily to be exhibited; and the prince-regent introduced a becoming notice of the important victory, in the royal speech with which the session was closed, on the twelfth of July. "You will have heard," said the regent, "with just pride and satisfaction, the splendid success with which

it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his majesty's arms and those of his allies." A few days prior to the delivery of this ministerial eulogy on Wellington's character, the corporation of London presented a loyal address to the throne, congratulating the prince upon the late glorious victory. To this public appeal the regent replied in the most feeling language, referring to the great extent of private calamity which the recent battle had occasioned, and to the fall of his relative, the Duke of Brunswick, "who closed, on that memorable occasion, a career of honour with a death of glory." In alluding to the Duke of Wellington, his royal highness observed, "that the high military reputation which this country had acquired by the undaunted valour and consummate discipline of our troops, and the transcendent genius and heroic example of the commander, who has constantly led them to victory, will afford one of the most important securities for the future tranquillity and independence of Europe."

The curtain was now about to fall, and close the dreadful tragedy, of which all Europe had been made the scene by the ambitious projects of Napoleon Buonaparte. All countries and communities pressed forward to repay public debts of gratitude, due to the gallant fellows who had headed their legions in the front of danger, or to call for vengeance upon him who had sold his country. The distribution of rewards was entrusted to the Duke of Wellington,—a memorable compliment to his integrity of character; and the splendid swords which the ancient corporation of London had voted to the chief officers of the allied armies, were presented to the respective persons by his grace, at the request of the lord-mayor. In this delicate duty, he acquitted himself with his wonted success; indeed, a distribution, unattended by jealousy and heart-burnings, could not possibly have been made by any other individual in the service of the allied sovereigns; for, none possessed that immeasurable superiority over his brother-soldiers, which rendered remonstrance as vain, as partiality was unsuspected, except his grace only: and there were many officers in the service of foreign princes, who ascribed additional

value to the gift, from the medium through which it was derived. These were duties which the duke had always performed with evident gratification : in Spain and Portugal we have always observed the pleasure he felt in bestowing a new mark of royal favour upon any of his general officers, and the wish that the ceremony should take place in that manner which was most public, respectful, and salutary. Superior to every feeling of rivalry, he was the first to recommend the very men who envied him his high renown, for promotion and reward ; and never was there a man so elevated in rank, power, and authority, who descended more frequently from his lofty position, and entered into the affairs of those whose fortune and happiness were in any way dependent upon his personal administration. This strong and decided quality of mercy was manifested in numerous instances, where officers and soldiers had been visited by courts-martial with punishment that exceeded the offence ; and it was in this instance only, in the course of his military career, that he ever deviated in the slightest degree from the straight, strict path of justice. A captain in the British service was tried before a court-martial at Paris, and condemned under circumstances that excited the indignation of his grace : not influenced by personal regard for the individual, nor awoke to mercy by disgust at the conduct of his accusers, but devoted to the cause of truth and honour, he suspended the execution of the sentence, forwarded the proceedings to the judge-advocate-general, and accompanied them with such general reasons for looking cautiously into the conduct of all such tribunals, as deserve the serious study of military men in superior commands. “ As few proceedings of courts-martial have come under my view, less founded upon *public views* than those which I now transmit, I consider it my duty to beg you to draw the attention of his royal highness the prince-regent to them in a particular manner.—*From conduct displeasing to his brother officers*, but known for some time to the colonel, and passed unnoticed, certain charges were preferred against him ; and you will see the manner, the temper, and the language, in which they have been prosecuted. The

court had *not* before them the order from me, of the breach of which the prisoner is convicted; and I enclose it." In these few lines his grace gives a noble view of the principles on which alone the character of a soldier or a citizen should be arraigned, namely, "public views," a principle unhappily too often departed from in all tribunals of limited construction.

Public men, even those like Wellington, who have been benefactors not merely to their country but to the world, seldom escape the shafts of calumny: these weapons, more unerring in their aim than the sharpest steel, will pierce through a panoply of virtue. His grace resided in the Champs Elysées, and a guard of honour was mounted at his palace, on the spot lately occupied by the camp of the British. Because even the captain's guard had not been withdrawn, calumniators were found who assured Lord Liverpool, that his grace's guard was placed there with instructions to assemble the troops and fire on the people. This was a monstrous perversion of the truth:—a riot had occurred at Dieppe, which excited not a little apprehension in other quarters; and during the alarm, orders had been issued to the general officers to inform the magistrates, that in the event of insurrectionary movements, the soldiers would certainly fire on the rebels. The statement of the calumniators exhibited the hero as a sanguinary tyrant; the truth exhibits to view a merciful mind endeavouring to avert calamity by a salutary warning.

But, the calumny was wholly gratuitous, and may be placed amongst the foulest of the many with which it has been the lot of this great man to have been continually assailed; for, not an individual in France actually apprehended any commotion. "My opinion is," said his grace, "that the king and his government are in a better situation now than they were this time last year, because there is no *head* against them: because there is no confidence in anybody, nor is there anybody who has talents to become a *head*; because the real danger, the disaffection of the army, is felt and acknowledged; and, because measures are taking to form a loyal army, if possible. There is plenty of discontent, and talk, and reports,

and opinions, but nothing that shows anything like a serious conspiracy; and my opinion is, that the king will hold his ground, if the courtiers and his family do not force him to take some step which will give serious alarm to the holders of national property."

Having defended himself from the base imputation of having contemplated a great military assassination, after the lapse of a few short days he felt it necessary to rescue his private character from the charge of immorality. This was a new, an unexpected assault. Vice or immorality, in any of their varied forms, have here found no palliation, and the faults of the great portrait which it is intended to delineate, are touched as freely as the beauties; but it is contended, that the private lives of our soldiers, senators, patriots, and public servants, do not belong to the historian or the nation; that the invasion of the domestic circle is prohibited by the rules of just and useful biography; and that lessons to be drawn from such portions of their lives could never rest upon connected or authorized evidence. That private vices have been overlooked by the nation, and merged in public gratitude, the example of Nelson sufficiently attests; but that no remission, on this head, is demanded for the conqueror of Napoleon, his own fearless answer to his public accusers abundantly proves. "My name, sir," said his grace, "is frequently mentioned in your newspaper, and as it is a sort of privilege of modern Englishmen, to read in the daily newspapers lies respecting those who serve them, and I have been so long accustomed to be so treated, I should not have thought it necessary to trouble you on the subject, if you had not thought proper to contradict, as from authority, in a late paper, certain reports you had before published, respecting differences between the Duc de Berri and me. This formal contradiction of certain reports, tends to give the appearance of truth to certain others which remain uncontradicted, which have still less foundation in fact than those which you have been authorized to contradict. I mean, for instance, those reports which you have more than once published, respecting a supposed intercourse between a cer-

tain Madame Hameline and me. I should be justified in calling on you to name the person who gave you the information on this subject; nay, I believe nobody could blame me if I were to go further; but I feel no resentment on the subject, nor any desire to injure you. All I beg is, that you will contradict those reports; and your own desire to publish only what is true respecting an individual, will probably induce you in future to be more cautious in selecting the channel of your intelligence respecting me, when I assure you that I never had any intercourse, or even acquaintance, with Madame Hameline, but that I never even saw her. Other circumstances respecting me have been published in your paper, which are equally false with those to which I have above referred ——."

It was at this period supposed that the Protestants in the south of France sustained a grievous and illiberal persecution, if not with the sanction, at least not contrary to the order, of the King of France. Persecution and slavery have always been hateful to the English people, and they have endeavoured to mitigate or abolish them wherever they have existed. A society was now formed in London for the protection of religious liberty, and the secretaries, Messrs. Wilkes and Pellatt, were directed to address the Duke of Wellington on this painful subject, and request either a true explanation of the illiberal treatment of French Protestants, or his grace's powerful aid in arresting its progress. To the request of the society, his grace returned the following answer: "I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the twenty-fourth instant, and I take the earliest opportunity of replying to it. I have every reason to believe, that the public, and the society of which you are the secretaries, have been misinformed regarding what is passing in the south of France. It is natural that there should be violent contests in a country in which the people are divided, not only by a difference of religion, but likewise of political opinion; and, that the religion of every individual is in general the sign of the political party to which he belongs; and, at a moment of

peculiar political interest, and of weakness in the government, on account of the mutiny in the army, that the weaker party should suffer, and that much injustice and violence should be committed by individuals of the more numerous and preponderating party. But as far as I have any knowledge, acquired during my residence at this court last year, and since the entry of the allies into Paris, the government have done everything in their power to put an end to the disturbances which have prevailed in the south of France, and to protect all his majesty's subjects, in conformity with his majesty's promise in his royal charter, in the exercise of their religious duties according to their several persuasions, and in the enjoyment of their several privileges, whatever may be their religious persuasions. In a recent instance, an officer, General La Garde, was sent down to Nismes, especially by government, to inquire into the state of affairs in that country; and upon his first report, he had orders to open the Protestant churches, which, in the course of the contest between the parties, had been closed. He was severely wounded while in the execution of these orders; and I have been informed by good authority, that his royal highness the Duc d'Angoulême, has since marched at the head of a body of troops against those who had opposed themselves to the execution, by General La Garde, of the orders of government. I inclose a copy of the king's ordonnance, issued in consequence of this event, which sufficiently shows the views and intentions of the government. I had forgotten to inform you, that it is not true that the salaries of the Protestant ministers have been discontinued by the King of France. I trust that which I have above stated will convince the society, of which you are the secretaries, that the king of France's government, at least, are not to blame on account of the unfortunate circumstances which have occurred in the south of France."—Although different names are attached to the documents employed in calling the attention of his grace to the sufferings of the Protestants in the south of France, the principal merit of this humane measure is due to

Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Brougham, (Lord Brougham and Vaux), the former the soundest lawyer of that age, the latter the most perfect orator.

On the thirtieth of November, 1815, the Duke of Wellington took leave of the army of the Netherlands in the following brief but flattering order: "Upon breaking up the army which the field-marshal has had the honour of commanding, he begs leave again to return thanks to the general officers, and the officers and troops, for their uniform good conduct. In the late short but memorable campaign, they have given proofs to the world that they possess, in an eminent degree, all the good qualities of soldiers; and, the field-marshal is happy to be able to applaud their regular good conduct in their camps and cantonments, not less than when engaged with the enemy in the field. Whatever may be the future destination of those brave troops, of which the field-marshal now takes his leave, he trusts that every individual will believe, that he will ever feel the deepest interest in their honour and welfare, and will always be happy to promote either."

His grace still continued to reside in the palace of Elysée Bourbon*, until the twenty-ninth of June, 1816, when he quitted Paris for London, attended by a numerous suite.* His grace's intention being communicated to the foreign minis-

* During the campaign of the allied troops in Paris, a French citizen who was returning from the country through the *Champs Elysées*, where the troops were encamped, was robbed of his watch by a sergeant in the British army. Complaint was immediately made to the commanding-officer, and the troops were paraded before the Frenchman, who was thus enabled to single out the offender. A court-martial was held, and the criminal condemned to die on the following morning. As early as four o'clock, the whole of the allied army was assembled in the Bois de Boulogne, near Paris, where the prisoner was to undergo the sentence. The charge upon which he had been tried and convicted was read aloud, and the unfortunate man prepared for the presence of an offended Maker. Not a murmur ran through the ranks. The justice of the decree was acknowledged by every soldier; and if the short lapse of time between the offence and its solemn expiation, excited feelings of terror, they were mingled with respect for the stern severity of their commander. The drums beat, and the black flag waved mournfully in the air; the ministers of justice had already raised the engines of destruction, and the fatal monosyllable "Fire," was almost half ejaculated, when the Duke of Wellington rushed before their firelocks, and

ters, couriers were despatched to make preparations everywhere along the road to Calais, for his reception. The alleged cause of his departure was delicacy of health, for the relief of which, the Cheltenham waters had been prescribed. The departure of the duke should have been an indication of returning stability to the institutions of France, and of assured security to the throne of Louis; but the busy, meddling politicians of the day declared, that his real objects were to consult the ministers at home upon the means of sustaining another campaign on the European continent. That all such surmises were unfounded, events sufficiently established, for, upon his grace's return to England he proceeded to Cheltenham, and, during the month of July, resided at that watering-place, conforming to all the rules prescribed for visitors to the springs; and, that he did not require the advice of any member of the British cabinet, appears from the fact, that the ministers' despatches at that period were mere echoes of his communications. A few days previous to the departure of the duke from Paris, he directed that a grand fête should be given at his palace, to which all the English of rank, and many of the most distinguished members of the French government and court, were invited, including the younger princes of the Bourbon branch.

commanded a momentary pause whilst he addressed the prisoner:—"You have offended against the laws of God, of honour, and of virtue; the grave is open before you; in a few short moments your soul will appear before its Maker; your prosecutor complains of your sentence—the man whom you have robbed, would plead for your life, and is horror-struck with the rapidity of your judgment. You are a soldier, you have been brave, and, as report says, until now even virtuous. Speak boldly! in the face of Heaven, and as a soldier of an army devoted to virtue and good order, declare now your own feelings as to your sentence."—"General," said the man, "retire, and let my comrades do their duty; when a soldier forgets his honour, life becomes disgraceful, and immediate punishment is due, as an example to the army: Fire!"—"You have spoken nobly," said the duke, with a tear in his eye. "You have saved your life,—how can I destroy a repentant sinner, whose words are of greater value to the troops, than his death would be? Soldiers, bear this in mind, and may a sense of honour always deter you from infamy."—The troops rent the air with their huzzas—the criminal fell prostrate before the duke—the word "March" was given—he arose, and returned alive in those ranks which were to have witnessed his execution.

During the entertainment a smoke was observed to issue from the cellars, and quickly remarked by a servant of Mr. Aston's, then waiting in the street, by whom the circumstance was communicated to the duke's household. A valet, who had formerly been in the service of Napoleon, immediately descended into the cellar, and ascertained that the smoke proceeded from a lighted rag, placed near to a quantity of gunpowder and two barrels of oil. The light was extinguished, the train removed, and his grace informed that all danger was at an end. The festivity was continued without the least interruption, as the servants were directed not to mention the circumstance until the company had retired to their homes. This infamous design was intended to produce a re-enactment of the terrible tragedy which was exhibited at the gala of Prince Schwartzburg in honour of the marriage of the Archduchess with Napoleon; and there is reason to suppose, that assassins were in waiting, to avail themselves of the confusion that would necessarily attend the explosion, and rush upon their unarmed victims. The same kind Providence that watched over the valued life of the great hero, in his hundred fights, was present at his palace in Paris, and, at the same instant, secured the life of Wellington and the honour of France.

During his grace's visit to the chalybeate spring at Cheltenham, accompanied by his duchess and their sons, he acquired a considerable degree of popularity, nay, won the affections of all ranks by his unostentatious manners. His usual regularity was observed in his attendance at the pump-room, promenading the public walks, and compliance with all the forms here prescribed for valetudinarians, and, in a very short period, a manifest improvement in his strength and spirits took place; his popularity was unconnected with domestic politics; the hero of Waterloo alone constituted the great attraction, and, without distinction of political or religious parties, the whole population of Cheltenham crowded day after day to look upon the conqueror of Napoleon. Had Shakspeare lived in the days of Wellington, he might have chronicled the events at Cheltenham, upon

the first visit of the hero after the dangers he had passed, in strains not unlike those in which he tells of Coriolanus's visit to the Capitol, after he had overthrown the Volsci. Near to Cheltenham stood a noble mansion, surrounded by sweeping lawns, adorned with healthy and varied plantations. This agreeable residence, called Cambray House, but, since that period, named after Wellington, was occupied by Colonel Riddell. The gallant soldier intimated to his grace his desire to have some lasting memorial of the illustrious hero's visit to his seat, and suggested the planting of a British oak in the lawn immediately in front of his mansion. The request was readily acquiesced in, and his grace, accompanied by the duchess and her children, their nephew, Lords Hill, Lynedoch, and others, proceeded to the spot, and there placed the young tree, an emblem of British strength and virtue, in the earth, pouring oil and wine around its root, and strewing the ground with different seeds. Two young ladies, Misses Bellenger and Costello, appeared as ambassadresses from Ceres, and, after the fashion of the early Romans, presented the noble guests with fruits and flowers. As the day was the anniversary of the victory at Salamanca, the tree was then denominated, and still retains the name, of that ancient Peninsular city.

Returning to London, the popularity of his grace appeared to gather additional strength: the king, the parliament, and the people, strove emulously to make their respective demonstrations of gratitude conspicuous, and seemed fully resolved to indulge in every species of joyous ceremony that was allowable on such occasions. As the duke passed through the city to the establishment of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, the wealthy jewellers on Ludgate-hill, to inspect a service of plate then in progress, he was recognized by the foot-passengers, who collected in crowds around him; and, as he mounted his horse, he was saluted with the most deafening cheers, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and it was not without difficulty that he extricated himself from the immense throng that had been drawn together by the loudness of the applause. Joy and gratitude were the feelings

associated in the breasts of all classes, during the brief visit of his grace to his country, and amongst the leaders in these public rejoicings was the prince-regent of England. It may be remembered in the progress of the Peninsular war, that the city of Cadiz was bombarded, from a distance supposed to be beyond the range of projectiles—a circumstance which attached so much consequence to the ordnance employed and left by Marshal Soult on his retreat, as to induce the Spanish regency to send one of the mortars to his royal highness the prince-regent. Rear-admiral Legge, to whom it was intrusted, was instructed by the president, the Duke del Infantado, to request that it might be placed in one of the royal parks in England. Acceding to this request, the prince-regent directed that the mortar should be mounted on the parade of the horse-guards, to record the glorious victory gained at Salamanca, the consequent liberation of the south of Spain, and in honour of the Duke of Wellington, to whom both countries were indebted for the success. The Earl of Mulgrave was commissioned to have a carriage prepared for the purpose, in the proper department, at Woolwich. Nothing could have been more happily executed than his lordship's portion of the duty. The design is an allegorical allusion to the means by which the siege of Cadiz was terminated. An emblem has here been borrowed from the labours of Hercules, who slew the monster Geryon, the tyrant of Cadiz-Isle; thus figuratively expressing the raising of the siege, and illustrating the fame of the hero, who had broken the enchantment of the Geryon of modern days. A bed being formed for the monster-mortar, the following inscriptions were placed upon the sides, front, and rear. These circumstances

* *Inscription on the Sides of the Bed.*—Devictis a Wellington Duce prope Salamancam Gallis solutaque exinde Gadium obsidione hanc quam aspicietis basi superimpositam Bombardam, vi præditam adhuc inaudita ad Urbem portumque Gaditanum destruendum conflata, et a copiis turbatis, relictam Cortes Hispanici, pristinorum haudquaquam beneficiorum obliti summæ venerationis testimonio donaverunt Georgio, Illus. Brit. Princ. Qui in perpetuam rei memoriam hoc loco ponendam, et his ornamentis decorandam jussit.—To commemorate the raising of the siege of Cadiz, in consequence of the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington over the French near Salamanca,

occurred in the month of July and August 1816, immediately after which the Duke of Wellington returned to the continent, to resume the direction, and conduct the operations, of the army of occupation.

on the 22d July 1812; this Mortar, cast for the destruction of that great port, with powers surpassing all others, and abandoned by the besiegers on their retreat, was presented, as a token of respect and gratitude by the Spanish nation, to his royal highness the prince-regent.

In the front of the bed. The crest and the motto of his royal highness the prince-regent.—*In the rear.* Constructed in the royal-carriage department, Earl of Mulgrave master-general, A. D. 1814.

CHAP. II.

MR. BROUGHAM DISAPPROVES OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON VISITS THE OPERA IN PARIS—HIS RECEPTION—RECOMMENDS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ONE-FIFTH OF THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION—HIS GRACE RETURNS TO LONDON—IS PRESENT AT THE OPENING OF WATERLOO BRIDGE—THE BRITISH INSTITUTION OFFER A PREMIUM FOR THE BEST ALLEGORICAL PAINTING OF THE VICTORY OF WATERLOO—COLOSSAL STATUE OF NAPOLEON IN APSLEY HOUSE—CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, AND ALSO OF VERONA—DUKE OF WELLINGTON ATTENDS IN HIS PLACE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AND TAKES AN ACTIVE PART IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLITICS—1816—1821.

IN the month of February 1816, Mr. Brougham, the ablest debater in the opposition party, moved, in the house of commons, for the production of a copy of the treaty entered into between Austria, Prussia, and Russia.—He complained that these powers, after having concluded a league with this country, which pledged all the contracting parties to an identity of interest and object, should enter into a treaty for a separate object, to which this country was no party. These great powers pledged themselves for the maintenance of Christian principles, but there was nothing in the circumstances of the times that justified those sovereigns in putting themselves ostentatiously forward as the champions of Christianity,—it was unnecessary to express their readiness to lead their armies to support the sacred cause of religion, when no power menaced it. Such a profession, therefore, induced Mr. Brougham to suspect that more was meant than met the eye. When crowned heads associated, the result of their united councils was not always favourable to humanity. It was not, he contended, the first time, that Austria, Russia, and Prussia had laid their heads together. On a former occasion, after professing vast regard for truth, religion, and justice, they had pursued a course which brought much misery on their own subjects, and made war upon an unoffending country, which found little reason to felicitate themselves on finding their conquerors pre-eminently distinguished by those feelings which Christianity should inspire.

The war against Poland, and the subsequent partition of that devoted country, had been prefaced by language similar to that which this treaty contained; and the proclamation of the empress Catherine, dated Warsaw, which wound up that fatal tragedy, had almost the same words. After the empress had assisted in the iniquitous partition of Poland, after shedding seas of blood from the veins of her own subjects, after sanctioning the massacre of thirty thousand Poles, and driving out of Warsaw thirty thousand more, to be hunted down by a licentious soldiery, she issued a proclamation resembling in an extraordinary degree that of the holy alliance.

The shaft that was aimed at the Duke of Wellington in this brilliant display of oratory, was so artfully concealed, that Lord Castlereagh, who spoke in reply, did not perceive the ultimate and real object of the author. His lordship defended the conduct of the allied sovereigns in a calm, dispassionate manner, expressed unbounded confidence in the autocrat of Russia, asserted that the previous share they had in the war was sufficient guarantee for the part they would perform in future, protested against the motion as unparliamentary, and declared that it was calculated to lower and degrade the sovereigns of Europe, by unfounded imputations and groundless suspicions. His ministerial influence, the general success of Lord Castlereagh's measures, and the connection which the motion had with the conduct of Wellington, then the most popular public character in Europe, secured to the secretary a majority, and the rejection of a motion perhaps prematurely or intemperately made, but deserving of the gravest consideration in the parliament of a free country. The reply of Lord Castlereagh was directed more to the protection of the moral character of the crowned heads of Europe, whose personal friendship he anxiously cultivated, than to prove that the treaty paid any respect to the happiness or freedom of their subjects. A more noble defence of measures originating in necessity rather than based on human policy, was subsequently made in his place in parliament by the Duke himself, at a period when Mr. Brougham's motion also would have been better received by the nation.

France continued to be agitated by the convulsions that attended her late efforts for national supremacy, and even those who were most favourable to the restoration of the Bourbons, could not disguise their feelings at the degradation of their national glory. Although welcome to the court, the Duke of Wellington had ceased to retain his popularity with the multitude ; the debts of gratitude to that great and good man, were too burdensome for such a volatile people, and reports were circulated that England and Russia had disagreed, that France was again arming to take part in the approaching struggle, and that Marshal Macdonald was appointed to the chief command of the French armies. One of the weak grounds on which the irritated press of Paris rested their proof of a misunderstanding between the sovereigns was, the assemblage of such a number of foreign officers at the duke's hotel. But his grace's staff, more numerous and brilliant than it had ever previously been, amounting to nearly three hundred persons, was unavoidably increased to this display, from a desire on the part of foreign courts to acknowledge his great qualities, and to pay him a just and merited respect. The inconvenience which his grace sustained was not limited by a feeling of jealousy alone, at the magnificent and numerous *état major* by which he was attended, but his appearance at the Opera no longer afforded any gratification to the fallen citizens, and unequivocal symptoms of disrespect were frequently exhibited at his entrance into his box. Too well acquainted with the mutability of popular applause, the duke passed heedlessly by those occasional instances of ingratitude, and, actuated by the purest principles of justice and duty, assiduously persevered in those negotiations for the settlement of Europe, which were calculated to relieve France from the severe pressure of the army of occupation. Through his generous exertions, the allies were induced to withdraw thirty thousand men, one-fifth of their whole force, from the French territory, on the first of April, 1817. This measure obtained credit for the country with the monied interests in other kingdoms, so that a loan was readily raised by the Duke de Richelieu, sufficient to

relieve, for that season, the financial embarrassments of France. Besides this timely aid, the duke of Wellington persuaded the ministers of the allied powers to withhold their claims for the pay of the army, and to accept of instalments such as France could, without oppressive suffering, afford. It was in this magnanimous spirit of conciliation he acted towards the conquered; and so entirely did he establish, in the opinion of foreign kings and ministers, his reputation as the first general and ablest politician in Europe, that he became henceforth, and, until the waves were stilled which the spirit of revolution had put in motion, continued to be the dictator, not of his own country, but of the civilized world. This elevated rank is conceded to him in the official note of the four plenipotentiaries to the chambers, which declared, "that the high personal character of the king, and the principles and conduct of his present ministry, together with *the sanction of the opinion of the Duke of Wellington*, were the sole causes of the relief then, and in that peculiar manner, afforded to France."

Gratitude was once more revived, and all parties concurred in acknowledging that the Duke of Wellington had given a noble example of forbearance and generosity, not only to the allies, but to the French people. His grace embraced the opportunity which his returning popularity afforded, to gratify the gay circle of Parisian society, and on the eighteenth of March he entertained the French royal family, and several hundred persons of rank, with a masked ball, at his own hôtel. His fortune fluctuated in France, but in England its growth was as steady as the character of the people. There subscriptions were raised in every county, for the widows and orphans of the brave fellows who fought for our liberties; prayers were offered to Almighty God for the blessings he had conferred upon the British nation; and the manifestations of public feeling in favour of the hero of Waterloo, were not limited to place or party, but expressed generously in every part of the United Kingdom. The Irish claiming the illustrious warrior as peculiarly their own, were foremost in paying that just tribute to his high renown, to which by his achievements he was

succeeded in converting a house, ill-designed, but delightfully situated, into an architectural, convenient, and truly elegant mansion. Standing directly opposite the principal residence of royalty it will long continue to remind the sovereign who fills the throne of this great kingdom, of his faithful services: and, commanding a prospect of the park, where the army are reviewed by the monarch on commemorative-days, it will recall to mind, for ages yet to come, the splendour which the arms of Britain once attained, and the proud distinction that belongs to the brilliant display of military talents. The interior of the ducal palace, which would have been more appropriately called Wellington or Waterloo-house, from the date when it passed into his grace's possession, is splendidly furnished and decorated, including a fine collection of portraits of the most eminent of his grace's cotemporaries—military, political and private friends. One apartment, the Waterloo Gallery, has acquired a lasting interest, from its having been the scene of those annual banquets, given by the Duke to the heroes who fought by his side in the final struggle at Waterloo, on some of which commemorative festivities the monarch also has been present.

Amongst the most remarkable objects which give increased interest to the interior of Apsley house, is a colossal statue of Napoleon Buonaparte, which had been sent from France to the Prince Regent, by whom it was presented to the Duke of Wellington. It is the workmanship and design of the inimitable sculptor Canova, and was intended to adorn a public building then in progress at Paris. The Roman statuary had found in the Emperor Napoleon a munificent patron; and it is said that he employed his best exertions in endeavouring to render the work worthy of his own and his great patron's fame. The statue, after the pure taste of the antique, is but slightly draperied, and intended to convey an expression of great dignity and majesty. Critics, perhaps with too much severity of taste, have said that the attempt was too daring for the sculptor, and that he soared into regions where his strength was expended, and his flight unsuccessful;—that although he excelled all cotemporary artists in the expressive

and delicate touches of poetical beauty, he has failed in this perilous competition with the exalted glories of Grecian art. Fortunately, however, for the riches of his grace's collection, the name of Napoleon was unpopular at the moment that this noble work arrived in Paris, and the bigoted Bourbon, who had been seated on the throne, could not tolerate the admission of the finest specimen of art in existence into his capital, if it were to be associated with a remembrance of Napoleon. Without even being unpacked, on its arrival at Paris, Louis directed that it should be forwarded to a more liberal king, and a more generous enemy of the ex-emperor, than himself; and in this manner Canova's colossal statue of Napoleon found its way to England, and was most appropriately erected in the palace of the hero by whom he had been dethroned.

While his gracious master was enriching the Duke's gallery of sculpture in his town-residence, the generous people of England were engaged in procuring a national home for the hero of Waterloo, in order that the victories of Wellington,—so much more valuable in their results to England and to Europe than those of Marlborough—might not remain less nobly and less gratefully rewarded. On the 9th of November, 1817, the parliamentary commissioners, who had been entrusted with the honourable and gratifying occupation of purchasing a suitable estate for the Duke of Wellington, concluded an agreement with Lord Rivers, for the mansion and demesne of Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire, for the sum of £263,000, the timber on the estate being valued at £150,000. This splendid property was formerly the principal residence of the Say family, by whose heiress it was conveyed in marriage to Sir Nicholas Dabridgecourt, Knt. who was sheriff of Hampshire in the 13th year of Richard II. In this family the estate continued until the reign of our first Charles, when it was purchased by Sir William Pitt, comptroller of the household, who made it his residence; and dying in 1636, was buried in the parish church. In the year 1739, a school-house was erected here, and endowed with £400 by Lora Pitt, after which date the chronicles are silent as to this family. The

Lord Rivers, from whom the property was purchased by parliament, was fourth in descent from Sir William Pitt, and raised to the peerage in 1776. The house is situated in a low part of the demesne, and is totally disproportionate to the extent and beauty of the estate. The park is watered by a rivulet that winds most agreeably through it, and, combining in its windings with groups of forest-trees, assists in the formation of numerous pleasing landscapes. The patronage of the benefice, a rectory in the diocese of Winchester, passed to the Duke of Wellington along with the manor and estate of Strathfieldsaye.

Every subject, of both common and public interest, was now associated with the name and popularity of Wellington, and many individuals rose into reputation by employing their talents upon objects connected with the idol of the British nation. Amongst those whom England may congratulate herself upon having warmed into life by her patronage of genius, was Thomas Wyon, then, in 1818, a young but promising artist. Uniting judgment with genius, this clever medallist engraved a head of Wellington, from a bust by Nollekins, on the reverse of which was an allegorical figure of Victory. Having published his design, it came under the notice of Mr. Atkinson, one of the managers of the royal mint, and a liberal patron of ability in his own profession. By this honourable public officer, Wyon was immediately employed to engrave dies that had been ordered, for two copper coins, by the East India Company; and although they were never employed by the Company, the talent displayed in their execution secured to the medallist of Wellington, the appointment of probationer engraver to the royal mint; and on Mr. Pingo, the chief engraver, becoming superannuated, he succeeded to his lucrative situation. Wyon's exertions to perpetuate the glories of the illustrious chieftain, did not conclude with his well-earned promotion. In an exquisite design, he commemorated the visit of his Grace to Hatfield, the seat of the Marquis of Salisbury, in 1814; and his talent was subsequently employed in engraving miniimi medals of the Duke of

Wellington, weighing seven grains each—the reverse, a Sword and Shield. He also recorded the battle of Waterloo by the execution of the honorary medals struck for distribution to the heroes of that day; on the obverse of which, unfortunately, was the head of the regent, instead of that of the conqueror. This sacrifice Wyon was compelled to make to the etiquette of the state. But it is supposed that the most successful effort of this artist is preserved in his small medals struck to commemorate the opening of Waterloo Bridge, London, at which both the Prince Regent and the Duke of Wellington were present. Had his life been spared, Wyon would certainly have exceeded all the miniature artists who preceded him, by the splendid medal which he was engraving, to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, when the hand of death arrested his progress.

Accustomed now to the world's flattery, and grateful to his country for the munificent reward it had conferred upon him, Wellington proceeded in the equable discharge of that very delicate duty, of mediating between an irritable people, whose vanity had been humbled—and half-civilized soldiers, whose appetite for plunder was inordinate. The ambassadors and representatives of the different states, which France had overthrown, and laid under contribution, seemed inexorable, and exorbitant in their demands, and frequent conferences were held between their plenipotentiaries and the Duke, in which his grace pressed urgently for some mitigation of their demands upon the treasury of France. Prussia then demanded two millions and a half sterling, and obstinately persisted in her claim, but the pretensions of all the minor states were cut down to one-sixth of the original amount, by the interference of his grace; against which curtailment, Bavaria complained most loudly. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1818, the negotiation for settling the claims of foreigners upon France, was finally and effectually concluded, and the treaty signed by the Duke de Richelieu and the ministers of the four great powers respectively. By this instrument, the French government were bound to the allied sovereigns (the King of England excluded)

in the principal sum of 240,800,000 francs. A separate treaty was at the same time concluded with Great Britain, providing for the more speedy discharge of the claims admitted in favour of that nation. By this particular treaty, France engaged to place at the disposal of the English commissioners a *rente* of 3,000,000 francs, equivalent to a capital of 60,000,000, and to liquidate therefrom, by monthly payments, the principal and interest of the British claims. The right of British subjects, touching certain goods warehoused at Bourdeaux in 1814, was reserved by a special article from the operation of the treaty. In introducing the result of the arrangements made for France with the allied powers, by the mediation of the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Richelieu paid a high compliment to the moderation and impartiality of his grace, and lauded the dignity and temper of the official document drawn up, under his advice, by the plenipotentiaries of the four great powers. Wellington, by his personal influence, that is, the weight of his illustrious position in Europe, moderated the rapacity of the northern powers, and, by his able diplomacy, reconciled them to the favourable terms which France readily, and gratefully, conceded to England, at his instance solely. Perhaps a situation of greater political perplexity never occurred in modern diplomacy, and assuredly none was ever more effectually arranged, in respect of justice to the Allies, mercy to France, or due consideration and regard for the interests of his own country. However the other powers might, in after years, have reviewed the matchless policy of the hero in this adjustment, France, at least, has reason to respect the generosity of his character. The payments to England were commenced first, and, in the month of May, 1818, eight millions of francs had been paid to the Duke of Wellington at Paris, in part liquidation of twenty-five millions granted by parliament as prize-money to the troops under his grace's command, and the remainder was lodged in the military chest in France, or remitted to England.

One iniquitous conspiracy against the life of the Duke of

Wellington, during his residence at Paris, has already been noticed—a second more nearly proved fatal. As his grace's carriage was entering the gate of his hotel, in the Rue des Champs Elysées, on the eleventh of February, a wretch, who started from behind one of the sentry-boxes at the gateway, discharged a pistol at the duke, but with so bad an aim, that he did not even hit the carriage: the guard turned out, and pursued the villain, but his agility enabled him to effect his escape. In his flight he threw away a loaded pistol, which was subsequently found near the Monument de la Madeleine. Upon his happy escape from assassination, the ministers of the allied sovereigns immediately congratulated the hero, the French king added his unbounded expressions of joy, and the prince-regent of England, in an autograph letter to his grace, thanked Providence for having spared a life "so important to the preservation of the general tranquility of Europe." The diabolical attempt, although ascribed to various motives, and different parties, may be reasonably attributed to the disappointed and wounded feelings of the French people, and their jealousy of Wellington's glory. This jealousy was the origin of indiscreet language, not in Paris only, but in Belgium and other countries, where the genius of Napoleon had not lost its applauders; and in a letter from Lord Kinnaird, and from officers attached to the frontier-army, his grace received no few warnings that ungovernable spirits were plotting against his valuable life. His grace paid little attention to these forebodings of evil, continuing to entertain the august personages then resident at Paris, and to accept their invitations in turns, without the least apparent apprehension of danger. However the plot may have originated, Belgium is believed to have been the place of its birth; the French authorities were serious in their efforts to discover the perpetrator of the crime, and, after the most indefatigable exertions, the miscreant was arrested in Paris on the sixteenth of the month by the gens d'arms. The assassin, Cantillon, was a discharged soldier, and hired by a set of discontented villains, formerly in the imperial service, but then waiting any change

that might occur in the relations of the European powers. This combination of French refugees alarmed the duke much less than it did those who regarded his worth, and, in the early part of May, in this year, Lord Castlereagh, ever watchful over the best interests and happiness of his noble friend, made this diabolical attempt the basis of a motion in parliament, for leave to continue the alien act for two years longer. His lordship's reasonings on this, and other topics, fell short of the liberality of his great friend's measures, and in this instance were refuted in a beautiful and feeling speech by Sir Samuel Romilly, which concluded by a reference to the case of Knight, an African slave, who accompanied his master, Weddesham, to Scotland, but refused to proceed with him to Jamaica, pleading that he had become naturalized by five years' residence in Britain, and this alone struck off his chains. Eloquence and mercy pleaded vainly against ministerial power in the hands of Lord Castlereagh, and the motion was carried by a large majority.

We must now follow the Duke of Wellington from the festivities and the perils of a residence amongst his concealed enemies, to a scene of an extraordinary and suspicious character—another congress of sovereigns. This meeting took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the first sitting occurred on the twenty-ninth of September, 1818. The edicts that were put forth by the quadruple alliance, declared the tranquil state of France—the fulfilment, of that country, of all her existing engagements—the adequacy of the pledges which she offered for their completion—and the propriety of withdrawing the army of occupation. The king of France was then invited to become a party in the congress. His majesty having accepted the invitation, the subsequent documents were signed by the Duke de Richelieu, on his sovereign's behalf. These instruments had a relation to the general interests of Europe, included a protocol and declaration, alluding to future conferences for the benefit of the territories of the allies, and avowed that, in all their dealings with each other, and in their decisions on the appeals of those powers which took no part in the quintuple alliance, they would be governed solely by the law

of nations. They did not make it obligatory upon other states to request their interference; it was only meant, that in the event of being appealed to, they would mediate according to such law. To this vain document the name of Wellington is attached, immediately following that of Lord Castlereagh, in order that the British king's approval of an alliance, which at first he declined to accept, might be thus doubly recorded. If no lasting advantages were obtained by Europe, no extension of their liberties secured by these princely conferences, honours at least were abundantly distributed by the crowned heads here represented. His grace the Duke of Wellington succeeded to the most conspicuous, being created a Russian field-marshal, and having a similar rank conferred upon him in the Prussian service.

A more sincere advocate for the liberty of the human race, than princes are generally imagined to be, appeared at the congress of Aix-le-Chapelle, in the person of Mr. Clarkson, the zealous and indefatigable promoter of the abolition of the slave-trade; uncommissioned by the African institution or other benevolent society, and urged by sympathy for his suffering fellow-creatures solely; this excellent man had been previously known to the emperor Alexander, and he now resolved to avail himself of that acquaintance, to promote the chief object of his amiable and valuable life. His particular design here was, to induce the congress to compel Portugal to limit the period when slavery should cease to be protected by her government in her possessions south of the line,—a promise already given by the neighbouring kingdom of Spain. The emperor hearkened attentively to the details, entered fully into Clarkson's policy, and exhibited a sympathizing interest in his narrative.

His next appeal was made to Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington: his lordship agreed with Mr. Clarkson upon the barbarity of the Portuguese, in refusing to assign any definite date as the limit of the slave-trade, but doubted whether their continuing to traffic in human beings, after the thirtieth of May, 1820, the period at which Spain consented

to its abolition, could be treated as piracy. The Duke of Wellington was most energetic on the subject; he declared that "they must give it up. He saw no reason why it should not be declared piracy—it was its proper designation: he engaged to use his utmost efforts to forward the object. It was not to be endured that Portugal should continue to resist the united wishes of Europe, by retaining this infamous trade, after all other nations had abandoned it."

The abolition of the slave-trade was a matter that occupied the anxious attention of the English public for many subsequent years; and, although the Duke of Wellington never claimed any of the praise, which present and future ages must agree in bestowing upon its authors, certainly to him is due the merit of having shaken the infamous system to its foundation, by his personal influence with the sovereigns of Europe.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, decided the most important questions then pending as to the settlement of Europe, agreed to the withdrawal of the army of occupation, and determined upon the pecuniary balance still due by France in conformity with the provisions of the treaty of November, 1815. At these royal meetings, amusements were combined with graver pursuits, and, upon one occasion, several professors of pugilism from England, displayed what is called the art of self-defence, in the great hall of Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of Prince Metternich, Prince Charles of Prussia, and the Prince de Salmes. The taste exhibited by the Duke of Wellington, however, appears to have been of a much more refined order than that of his political coadjutors; for, while these illustrious persons were admiring the somewhat savage sport of pugilism, he occupied his leisure moments in collecting paintings, by the old masters, for his gallery in London. The principal part of his grace's collection formerly belonged to Cardinal Fesch, and includes some of the finest works of the Italian and Flemish schools. In this gratification, however, he was not permitted to indulge without encountering the assaults of the public press. The value, or rather cost, of these pictures was exaggerated to an enormous extent, and, it was even insinuated that some of the best paintings in his

cabinet had belonged to Spain, and were taken by the great duke at Vittoria: both which assertions were without foundation. The hospitality of the duke at Paris, and during his residence at Cambray, where he participated with his guests in the manly sports of the field, excited the jealousy of that party which had never ceased to envy his successes and his glory. It was not acknowledged that such had always been the character of his family, nor was it ever mentioned that the man who had conquered Napoleon, and restored to every cabinet in Europe the treasures of which they had been despoiled by the ex-emperor, had himself returned, like the Roman dictator, poor in every thing but glory. The unworthy attacks of the domestic press excited the indignation of his private friends, some of whom, in the warmth of their feelings, actually published a particular statement of his grace's income, including the gift from his country, from which it appeared that he did not possess more than £20,000 per annum, to sustain the dignity of a British dukedom.

With the dissolution of the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French question was virtually disposed of; and that great country, having been humbled beyond the lot of any nation in modern times, illustrated the vicissitudes of power in an extraordinary degree. Her obligations, lightened by the benevolent exertions of her conqueror, being discharged, she was left to the government of a weak and bigoted monarch, whose race the Duke of Wellington lived to see driven from the throne, and succeeded by a man whose abilities for governing have not unfrequently been compared with those of Napoleon le Grand.

Having bade farewell to France, the duke returned to England, not to fall into the lap of leisure, deny the aid of his great talents, high name, or valuable influence, in affairs of foreign policy, but, to manifest the nobleness of his nature by a grateful care of all the interests of his country. And in this new field of exertion he will be found to have laboured productively, and to have shown those abilities for the conduct of a great state, which could not fail to have reminded Spain, and France also, that Wellington might have filled the throne

of either kingdom to his own glory, their happiness, and the aggrandizement of their nation. Content with the honour his country paid him, the hero of Waterloo exhibited a desire to participate in the cares of the government, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1818, he undertook the duties of an office, which he was eminently qualified to fill, "master-general of the ordnance." Upon the opening of parliament in 1819, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle became the subject of discussion, and Lord Holland anxiously pressed for the production of all papers connected with the slave-trade, as well as with the general nature of our treaty with the allied sovereigns; but as the proceedings of that august meeting related principally to the settlement of France, it would have completely frustrated the objects of the congress, had they been made public, pending the settlement. The papers, therefore, were not produced. It is a remarkable fact, that, although the Duke of Wellington had there laid the foundation of the benevolent measure for destroying all future traffic in human beings, he refrained from any mention of his own meritorious conduct, even when a clamour was raised against himself and Lord Castlereagh, on the ground of having disregarded that interesting question in congress.

Inattentive, or rather governed by a noble modesty, in all that related to his individual efforts, his grace was feelingly alive to the interests and happiness of all around. In his place in parliament, on the second of February, 1819, he supported, in the most unequivocal and generous manner, the thanks of the country to the Marquis of Hastings for his conduct of the late war in India. He expressed his gratification at having an opportunity of doing justice to the services and gallantry of our troops in India, which were often neglected or disallowed. The conduct of Sir Thomas Hislop being severely animadverted upon by the opposition members, his grace came forward, with much earnestness of manner, and pleaded the absent soldier's cause. "That gallant officer, he said, had acquired a high character in India and elsewhere, and in the war, then under consideration, had performed a part in the engagement

inimical to kingly government, it behoved us in a particular manner, to lay before our gracious sovereign our determination to support and maintain the constitution; he took notice, that under the present reign this country had risen to a state of unexampled prosperity. He said, that the augmentation of the forces, as mentioned in the speech, had from the circumstances of the times become necessary. He reprobated, in very severe terms, the conduct of the French towards their king, their invasion of the territories of sovereign princes, and their irruption into the Austrian Netherlands.

“He applauded the conduct of the administration of this country, for issuing the proclamation of the eighth of November, and he condemned the attempt of a set of men styling themselves national guards, and appearing in military array; a set of men unknown in the country, except by their attempts to overthrow the government: the conduct of the administration on that occasion entitled them to the confidence of the people. In regard to what had been recommended in the speech from the throne, respecting our Catholic fellow-subjects, he could not forbear expressing his approbation on that head; *he had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country, and he trusted that when the question would be brought forward respecting that description of men, that we would lay aside all animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans.*”

The address was opposed by Henry Grattan, in a speech of unrivalled eloquence, and answered by one little less luminous from Mr. Sheridan; but the fate of such motions is never influenced by appeals to the house, sufficient strength is always previously provided by the ministers to carry such measures triumphantly to the issue.

It has been the constant aim of this delineation of the Duke of Wellington's character, to prove his undeviating consistency, from the first record of his public services to the latest: and as there is no question connected with his political life, in which he has been more unfairly dealt with than that called Catholic emancipation, it will contribute

materially to the rectification of error on subjects of infinitely less importance, on which his actions have not been impartially described, to state his original views on that subject. When the Duke of Wellington, as a cabinet minister, proposed the introduction of the Catholic-relief bill, a subject which shall be noticed more particularly hereafter, the opposition party exclaimed that he was *compelled* to grant this boon by the existing state of things; that he only *yielded to expediency*; while several influential Catholics declared that his grace, perceiving the nation at large to be in favour of the measure, resolved to make a merit of necessity by anticipating the opposition; and, by this artful policy, retain his place. The conduct of his grace on this delicate question shall, in its proper place, be honestly analyzed; here the object sought to be established is simply, that in granting emancipation to the Roman Catholics, the Duke established the personal identity of the minister, with that of the Honourable Arthur Wesley, and that he is as much entitled to the reputation of *consistency* in this instance, as in every other of his political and military career.

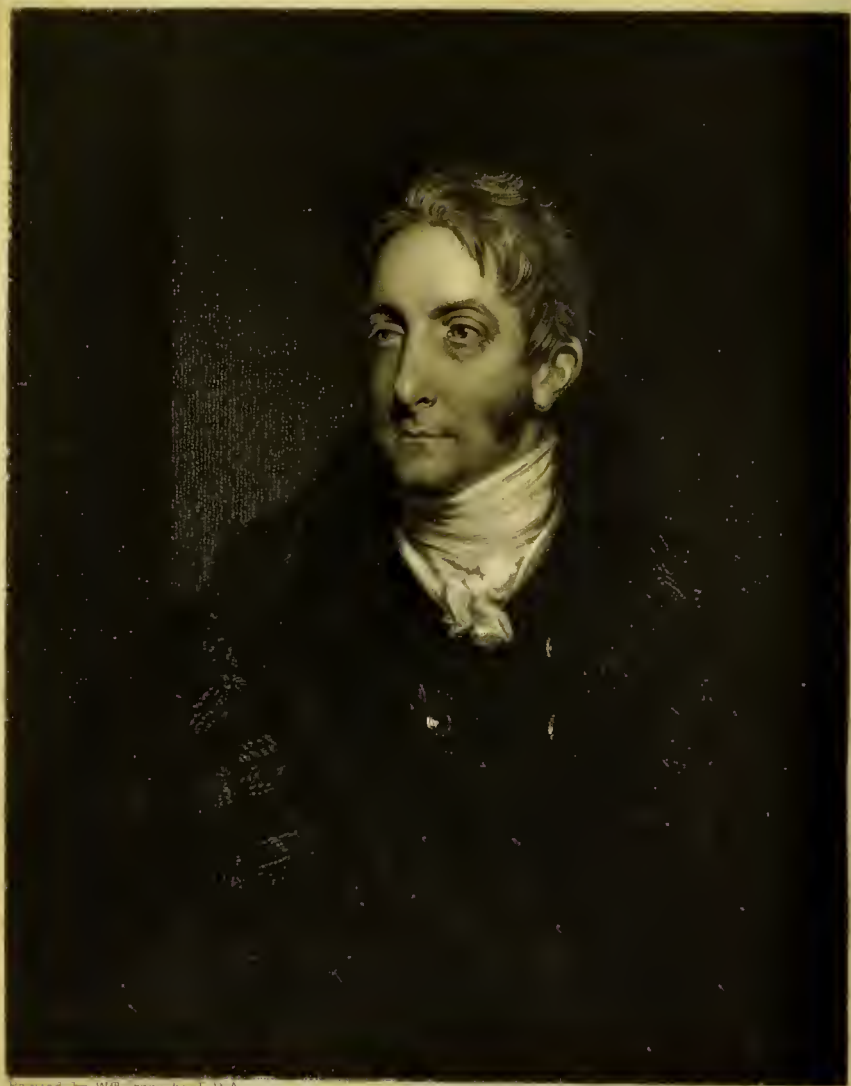
On the twenty-fifth of February, 1793, Mr. George Knox, having introduced a measure for the relief of the Roman Catholic portion of the people, recommended “that the committee about to be named for the purpose, should be empowered to receive a clause to admit Roman Catholics to *sit and vote in the House of Commons.*” Without entering into the question of how far the state of parties was then ripe for the production of such a motion, it will be sufficient for the present purpose, that is, to prove that the Duke of Wellington had never been unfavourable to religious toleration, but was always prepared to grant emancipation to the Roman Catholics, to give the memorable reply of the honourable Arthur Wesley, on the occasion of Mr. Knox’s amendment. He said, “*he had no objection to giving the Roman Catholics the benefits of the constitution*, and, in his opinion, the bill conferred them in an ample degree; but the motion of the honourable gentleman seemed calculated to promote disunion. With the bill as it stands, the Protestants are satisfied, and

the Roman Catholics contented. Why then agitate a question which may disturb both? A gentleman has said, that admitting the forty-shilling freeholders of the Roman Catholic persuasion to vote at elections, will annihilate the Protestant establishment in Ireland; and he has founded this assertion upon a supposition, that the Roman Catholics will, in voting, be directed by their priests: but have not Roman Catholics, like Protestants, various interests and various passions by which they are swayed? The influence of their landlords—their good or bad opinion of the candidates—their own interests—and a thousand other motives? It appeared to him that they would not vote in a body, as had been supposed, if the bill should pass in its present form; but if the motion of the honourable gentleman should be adopted, then indeed they would undoubtedly unite in support of Roman Catholic candidates.”

A question in which the future hero of the age must have felt an anxious interest, and on which he was, perhaps, the most competent member in that house to give a valuable opinion, was brought forward by Sir Lawrence Parsons, on the thirteenth of May, 1795. On this, the appointed day, Sir Lawrence rose to make his promised motion: the subject, he said, was one of the first constitutional importance: it was, whether the House would suffer the laws of the land to be violated; whether they would allow a viceroy to exercise a dispensing power, which the king would not be permitted to exercise with impunity.—He went on to state the history of the augmentation of the army, in 1769, &c., and concluded by moving the following resolution:—

“That John Earl of Westmorland, by authorizing such a number of regular troops to be sent out of this country, as left the remainder considerably less than the number appointed by law for the defence thereof, has been guilty of a violation of the compact entered into with the crown, and of dispensing with the law of the land.”

After several members had spoken, Colonel Wesley said he thought it had been fairly and clearly proved, that, between men on the establishment, and the new levies, the compact



Painted by W^m Owen Esq^r R.A.

Engraved by W^m Bosc.

THE RT HON^{ble} CROPLEY ASHLEY-COOPER, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

Shaftesbury

was satisfied. He asked, what did the act require? 12,000 men for the national defence? Were they, or were they not in the country? It was admitted that the public service demanded troops to send abroad, and an addition was therefore made to the establishment by parliament.

Was it the new levies just recruited, that were to be sent abroad to meet an enemy?—or the disciplined soldiers? The question answered itself, and justified sending the old regiments out of the kingdom, and retaining the new corps. He could not think Lord Westmoreland had broken the compact or the law. There were necessary for the defence of the country 12,000 men; and there were, besides the regular troops, 16,000 militia in the country, who ought to be taken into consideration when the national defence was spoken of. An honorable baronet had called the new levies ragamuffins; he congratulated that honourable baronet on his military sagacity, who would send ragamuffins upon foreign service; but he assured the honourable baronet, that, however he might treat the new levies with contempt, they were not objects of contempt to the enemies of their country.

The debate being protracted to a late hour, an adjournment was agreed to; but Colonel Wesley does not appear to have taken any further part in the contest, nor in any other during the session; in fact, this seems to have been the last occasion on which he addressed the parliament of his native country.

Early in the first month of 1819, the new parliament of the United Kingdom was summoned, when Chief-Baron Richards, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, apprised the house of peers, that the regent would not attend in person, but had empowered certain commissioners, namely, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Harrowby, Liverpool, Westmorland, and Shaftesbury, to open parliament; and, Charles Manners Sutton (afterwards Lord Canterbury,) having been chosen speaker of the commons on the twenty-first of January, the members were summoned before the commissioners, to hear the royal speech.—And now that the reign of George IV. has passed away, and few have regretted the transfer of the crown to

another brow, it may be remembered, without pain to the great men who survived him, that the selfish monarch, while he paid the most reverential attention to Lord Wellington on all occasions of state emergency, and expressed the utmost readiness to acknowledge the all-important services of the hero, seems to have most studiously avoided appearing in the great assembly of the nation when his grace was present; and, from his conscientiously active habits, his grace was more constantly to be found in his place than any other member of that august assembly. The speech now read in the presence of the commissioners, spoke of the decease of Queen Charlotte, consort of George III.—the friend of Mrs. Trimmer, Hannah More, Madam D'Arblay, and other female writers, whose works had a moral and religious tendency; and alluded to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as honourable and beneficial to England, because she was thereby enabled to lay aside, permanently, her war establishment.

The attention of his grace to parliamentary duties continued unabated; and the respect entertained for his person secured for him the attention of the house, when he felt that his notices were likely to be of value. The question of the resumption of cash-payments, now beginning to agitate the country, the Duke expressed himself strongly, clearly, and unexpectedly, in favour of the change; and, in whatever way posterity shall view this measure, of so much importance to a commercial country, the opinions of his grace must always command respect. He had made finance his peculiar study in earlier years; and it will be remembered, that during his voyage to the East Indies, he gave all the powers of his comprehensive mind to the theory of this question; and he more particularly applied that knowledge in the regulation of the complicated monetary system of our Oriental possessions. This early education was much matured by the public pecuniary difficulties, which his grace encountered, and conquered, in the Peninsula, and now, in 1819, he had an opportunity of employing the results of that boundless experience in alleviating the sufferings of his countrymen. Through his recommendation,

the question of the resumption of cash-payments was taken into the calm, deliberate consideration of parliament, and his grace was appointed, on a secret committee of the lords, to consider the state of the Bank of England with reference to that important question. It is not a little remarkable how complete was the triumph of Lord Wellington over prejudices domestic and foreign; for, while his luminous exposition of fiscal matters had obtained a new character for him at home, and placed him at the head of a public monetary board, the sterling justice of his character was so universally conceded by foreign countries, that the sovereigns of Europe selected him to arbitrate between Spain and her American colonies.

It was at this period, the month of May, 1819, that the question of Roman Catholic emancipation began to be seriously agitated both in and out of parliament;—within, by those who floated into popularity upon the current of public feeling, totally regardless of the interests of those by whom they were sustained—without, by a party of men, considerable in number, but more so in ability and perseverance, headed by Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Grattan advocated the cause of the Catholics sincerely, and with more eloquence than was ever employed on their behalf by any other of their supporters. Mr. Canning never gave the question the whole weight of his influence. Mr. Plunkett was adopted by the Irish Catholics as their champion, after the death of Mr. Grattan, not from sincere admiration, or implicit confidence in his view of the disabilities under which they laboured, as he had always insisted upon the necessity of securities from their body, but because he then held the most elevated political position amongst the professed advocates of that long-contested measure. The opinion which the Duke of Wellington held upon this, and, generally, upon all questions in which the extension of the liberty of mankind was concerned, was distinctly stated by himself in the Irish parliament, when the relief of the Roman Catholics was proposed by Mr. Knox. Many years had passed by, circumstances had materially changed, yet the sentiments of this great man will be found to have been immutable.

Numerous petitions having been presented on the fifth of May, for and against the extension of relief to the Roman Catholics, it was his grace's duty to present one from certain Protestants of the city of Dublin, where he had long resided, and was personally much esteemed, against further concessions to that class of persons. The petition would have been laid upon their lordships' table in silence, had not the Earl of Donoughmore asserted, that the signatures of private soldiers, and of charity boys then at the Dublin blue-coat school, were to be found amongst those appended to the document. To this contemptible attack upon the value of the petition, his grace replied, that he had the authority of the lord mayor of Dublin, and the trustees of the school, for saying that the report was false and scandalous; and, with regard to the private soldiers, not one had ever signed the memorial. Here his grace laid down one of those liberal maxims which the patriot nobleman, who would invalidate the truth of the petition, might well have adopted: "I do not mean", said he, "to admit that there is any objection to soldiers signing such a petition as this, *as individuals*; but as they have not signed it, it is not necessary to discuss the question." His grace gave no opinion on the merits of the Catholic question, nor did he in any way identify himself with the prayer of the petition which he then presented; but very distinctly laid down a doctrine, which is valuable in the highest degree, as to the conduct of military men in political matters.

On the seventeenth of May, the Earl of Donoughmore brought forward his promised motion relative to Catholic claims; he assented to the various objections made to the repeal of the remaining disqualifying statutes, and boldly stated, that the Catholics were ready to give every security against their acknowledgment of a foreign spiritual jurisdiction operating to the injury of the state. He argued strenuously for the repeal of the declaration and abjuration oaths, but "he thought the oath of supremacy might remain." The motion for going into a committee was supported by Earl Grey and the Marquis of Lansdowne, but opposed by the

Lord Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Wellington. His grace conceived that the question turned on the expediency of removing Catholic disabilities, and upon what concession could be safely made to them; that is, the degree of security which could be given to the protestant church as by law established in Ireland. To resolve this question, it was necessary to revert to the means by which the Reformation had been established in that country, which, it would be found, was effected at the point of the sword, and by means of confiscations. This was repeated at the Revolution, and was still fresh in the recollection of the Irish people. Keeping in view that the Irish Roman Catholic church, under all oppressions, continued in the same state — the pope having the same influence over the clergy, the clergy the same power over the people — in this state of things, it would be hardly safe to admit Roman Catholics to hold seats in parliament. The influence of the priesthood over the people was fostered by the remembrance of these events, and the idea of unmerited and mutual suffering: and no doubt could be entertained, from their existing feelings, that if the Roman Catholics were admitted to the enjoyment of political power, their first exertion would be to restore their religion to its original supremacy, and to recover the possessions and property of which they had been stripped by the Reformation. It was stated that the pope had relinquished everything in the appointment of bishops to the crown, except the mere conferring of a spiritual blessing. But that concession had excited discontent in Ireland, and was regarded as an abandonment of an essential principle of their religion, and an attack on their national independence. Not that the Irish had a less clear idea of national independence than other people, but because they felt, that if the executive power possessed any control over the appointment of bishops, some security would be thereby obtained for the Protestant church. His grace did not approve of the securities that were offered: he could not see how the laws could operate in the domestic nomination of bishops: he totally rejected the security to be obtained from the oath of a Roman Catholic prelate; and, until satisfactory

securities could be presented, he conceived the question should be postponed. The house adopted the opinion of his grace, and Lord Doughmore's motion was negatived by a large majority.

The English nation, the parliament, the regent, were *then* decidedly opposed to the unqualified remission of the penal code afflicting the Roman Catholics, and the sentiments of the Duke of Wellington, being in accordance with that feeling, were publicly responded to. This fact is the more necessary to be observed, because those who agreed in principle with his grace, were most certainly ignorant of his opinion formerly expressed on the question, and equally unacquainted with his disinclination to restrict the liberties of the people in any state, particularly in religious matters, beyond that limit which the well-being of society seemed to demand.

On the twenty-fourth of May, 1819, the hero of Waterloo, the bidden guest, the welcome visitor, at every public institution in his country, was invited to attend at Kensington palace, on which day the duchess of Kent gave birth to a princess, whom his grace lived to see ascend the throne of these kingdoms, and wield the sceptre with a firmness and ability that excited the admiration of the crowned heads of Europe. His grace was amongst the first of the public functionaries who arrived at Kensington, to await the birth of an heir to the throne; and after an interval of eighteen years, he was also amongst the foremost to do homage to the same princess, at the place of her birth, as queen of England.

Accustomed to laborious duties, and possessed of habitual activity, the duke found leisure, during the whole of his political life, both for public duties and private intercourse, without any sacrifice of either. And now he is found in the midst of the social circle, partaking of the enjoyments which are the portion of the English aristocracy, and continuing the exercise of that hospitality, for which he had been so unjustly censured while he resided in France. On the twenty-ninth of June, in this year, his grace was honoured by the company of the prince-regent, the duke of York, and other distinguished guests, at his mansion of Apsley house, and from that period the saloon of his palace has

been thrown open, every season, to those most distinguished for genius, rank, and fortune, in the great metropolis of the empire.

At this period of his grace's career, the gratitude of his own country, and the respect of those whom he had released from bondage, attained their maximum; but the course of feeling in France took a different direction. The construction of testimonials progressed, public dinners were given in honour of the duke, and valuable presents made to him by several crowned heads.*

About this time the trial of Marinot and Cantillon, accused of having attempted to assassinate the duke in Paris, presented

* In the month of June, 1819, the following distribution of the Waterloo prize-money was made.—To the duke of Wellington, £60,000 — General officers, £1,250 — Field-officers, £420 — Captains, £90 — Subalterns, £33 — Sergeant, £9 — Rank and file, £2. 10s. The duke's share was equivalent to those of 50 general officers, 143 field-officers, 666 captains, 2,158 sergeants, 24,000 rank and file. About this date it was that his grace received from the king of Saxony, as a present, a beautiful dessert service, which consisted of the following articles:—two large ice-pails, tastefully made in the form of a vase, with allegorical figures on both sides: on one, the god of war is drawn by rams; on the other, Apollo instructed by the Centaur Chiron, after the well-known Hereulancum picture. On the second, Julius Cæsar in his triumphant procession, holding the goddess of Victory in his hand; and Augustus, drawn by the genius of Victory, appears in all his glory. The fruit-dishes, fruit-baskets, and sugar-boxes of different forms and sizes, amounting to four and twenty pieces, have no paintings, but are richly gilded on a dead-blue ground, and ornamented with the most elegant open-work. But the most beautiful specimens are one hundred and eight dessert plates, ornamented on the borders with an exquisite garland of laurels intertwined with ribands (or lemmiscus) of the Saxon national colours. Sixty-four of these plates represent the most interesting prospects of Spanish cities, mountains, and sea-ports, from Laborde's Voyage Pittoresque, and several other splendid works and coloured drawings by his majesty's painter, Mr. Arnold, of Meissen, and six other skilful artists of the Meissen school, executed with the utmost delicacy of colouring. The Moorish monuments of Grenada, the Fernando-Gate, at Burgos (a most delightful night-piece,) and views of Saragossa, Talavera, and other places which have become conspicuous in history by Wellington's deeds.

Four views of the Duke of Wellington's residence in London, towards Hyde Park and towards the Green Park, and his seat of Strathfieldsaye, are very fine: they have been taken from the most accurate drawings. On twenty of the plates are painted the most beautiful views of Saxon castles, and the most striking scenery of the banks of the Upper Elbe, among the picturesque rocks

an occasion for the expression of much coarseness and illiberality by the French people towards him. The rejoicings of the mob at the acquittal of the suspected persons were most boisterous, but the *Moniteur* rendered justice to the duke's character on the occasion, and the avocat-general, in a feeling manner, congratulated the French nation upon the acquittal of the prisoners of so foul a charge.

Amongst many individuals, who had been visited, in the second generation, with the consequences of the unfortunate Irish rebellion of 1798, was the son of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been attainted for high treason. The Earl of Liverpool communicated to the house the reversal of that attainder by the prince-regent, and, without entering into the merits of the original transaction, stood up there as the advocate of innocent and unoffending individuals, a son and a daughter of the deceased lord, the former of whom had distinguished himself in arms in the service of his country. This act of his majesty's grace found a warm advocate in the Duke of Wellington, who

and valleys, which are called the Saxon Switzerland, painted by Messrs. Nagel Hottewitseh, Lieschke, &c. with the most perfect correctness.

Four and twenty of the plates represent battles and engagements in Spain, where Wellington has gathered laurels, after splendid English works and copper-plates, drawn particularly by Arnold, Scheunert, Boley, Nagel, &c. Groupes have been selected from the most celebrated pictures of Wouwerman, Bourguignoni, and others in the national picture gallery, and adapted to the subject. Four views of the battle of Talavera are amongst the finest.

Besides this dessert service, a second royal present was executed for his grace by the damask manufactory, at Great Schonaw, near Zitta. It consists of six complete sets of napkins, each for six and twenty persons; to each a table-cloth, twenty ells (an ell is two feet) in length, and six ells in breadth. Nothing of the kind can be more magnificent. On a ground strewn all over, but not overloaded with stars, the arms of the Duke of Wellington, with a laurel wreath, and other insignia, shine with the splendour of silver. On both ends are the insignia of war and peace, grouped in a picturesque manner. An uncommonly elegant Arabesque border runs all round. The beauty of the effect arises from the brilliant pattern, which is a perfect imitation of relief upon a dead ground. The napkins have an Arabesque border round about, and the Wellington arms, as also the insignia of the order of the garter, in the middle.

protested that he could not let that opportunity pass, without bearing testimony to the brave and honourable conduct of the individual in question, during the time he had been under his command. The family of Lord Edward Fitzgerald had always been opposed in politics to his grace; which gives a tenfold value to his willing testimony in favour of the gallant young officer.

New favours were daily heaped upon the great captain by his sovereign; amongst them, one of the most gratifying to himself, and appropriate in selection, was the appointment of Governor of Plymouth, to which his grace was gazetted on the sixteenth of October; succeeding his old friend, the duke of Richmond, who had died in Canada. Previous to his formal recognition, the duke visited Plymouth, on the twenty-ninth of September, attended only by an aid-de-camp, but the private manner of his travelling did not secure him from discovery, and on the following morning he was waited on by the mayor and corporation of the borough, and presented with the freedom of their city. His grace was conducted with much ceremony to the guild-hall, for the purpose of being sworn in; after which, he entered the citadel, under a series of salutes from the different batteries. The joyous day was closed by a public ball in the guild-hall, which was decorated with laurel on the occasion, and his grace gratified the inhabitants by appearing amongst them. Returning from Plymouth to London, the next public festival that occurred was the lord mayor's banquet for that year. The duke of York was present, and all the cabinet ministers; the title of each public character was announced, and received with respect; but when the great duke entered the hall, the band, unbidden, played, "See the conquering hero comes;" and the assembled guests welcomed him with loud acclamations.

The conduct of an individual named Carlile, in repeatedly violating the law, by continuing to publish blasphemous writings, on account of which he had been previously punished, brought the state of the law on that point before the house of lords; upon which lord Sidmouth brought in a bill to remedy existing defects, and embrace such cases as that of the offender. The bill

was proposed to be amended by Lord Caernarvon, who wished that its operation should be limited, to two years, and no longer. The best and wisest measures are frequently rejected by parliament, when they happen to originate with unpopular or powerless members; and although the necessity for punishing such a mischievous infidel was obvious to every member of a Christian community, yet the opposition party endeavoured to get quit of the proposed bill; or, at all events, render it less available than the ministers desired. This unfair proceeding received a mild but effectual check from the duke. His grace, saw that the point to be considered by the house, was not, whether the existing law was sufficient with regard to a first offence, or whether the government ought to have instituted more prosecutions; but whether it was then proper to pass a law for inflicting a severer punishment on persons convicted a second time for the same offence. Carlile, whose conduct had rendered a new enactment necessary, not only continued the sale of the libel for which he had been prosecuted, after conviction, but had published other libels, and the same libel, in another form, before sentence was passed upon him. It was obvious, therefore, that the law, as it stood, was not strong enough to prevent the repetition of the offence. The question for the house, therefore, was whether it would commit to the judges a power to inflict additional punishment in such a case,—whether it would adopt a measure, having for its object to prevent the repetition of so gross an impropriety. The bill passed, notwithstanding a very violent opposition, supported by the duke of Bedford, who entered his protest against it on the journals.

As the year 1820 opened, death seemed to aim his shafts but too unerringly against the royal family of England; on the twenty-third of January, the Duke of Kent, father of queen Victoria, died, after a short but painful indisposition, at Sidmouth, whither he had retired for the health of his duchess and their infant daughter. He had passed the greater portion of his life in the army, and carried his admiration of discipline to an excess: this failing has, but most unfairly, imparted to

his reputation the character of severity. His royal highness expired at the age of fifty-three years—only six days before the decease of his father, George III. The venerable monarch had attained the age of eighty-two years, and nominally reigned over these kingdoms for more than half a century. We say nominally, because the kingdom was never more entirely under the guidance of ministers in any reign than that in of our third George.—No English monarch was ever rendered so incompetent to rule by circumstances beyond human control; and whenever ministerial projects proved abortive, at that eventful period, it was the practice of the able men, who successively seized the helm of state, to place the known obstinacy of the king and his many violent prejudices, between themselves and the indignation of the country. The transit of this aged king, therefore, from an earthly throne to a bright immortality, could have produced but little excitement, and no derangement in the complicated machinery of government. Respected for his private worth, and admired for many domestic virtues, the remains of George III. were followed to the tomb by the best and noblest in the realm; and in the costly pageant that was so ostentatiously exhibited to a people, overwhelmed with public pecuniary obligations, the hero of Waterloo appeared beside the royal coffin, as one of the ducal supporters of the pall—a faithful, loyal, devoted subject of his monarch, until released from his allegiance by the King of kings.

And now the political character of the Duke of Wellington began to assume that settled purpose, that definite form, which it maintained without variation, while he took part in the government of the country. And now also he paid homage to a new sovereign, the morbid tinge of whose feelings not unfrequently involved the hero in political difficulties, from which he did not extricate himself without a sacrifice of that very subtle commodity *aura popularis*. George IV. was a man of passions and propensities widely differing from those of his royal parent. Educated for a throne, he was dazzled by the light of the promised diadem, and deviated deplorably from the paths of virtue. His separation from his

consort, the Princess Caroline, his rakish amusements, his intimate association with the Whig party, tended to estrange this voluptuary from the circle of his family ; and while he was viewed by the transgressors of public decorum as the glass of fashion, the great bulk of society anticipated the worst consequences from his example. As heartless in affection, as regardless of virtue, at his first court he declared his intention of retaining the ministers of the late king in office ; and, without an expression of regret or word of explanation, turned his back for ever upon the companions of his youth.

The sullen silence with which the reign of this prince commenced, was not dissipated by the selfish feelings which he manifested at an early period of it, as well as in every instance in which he was personally concerned. The liturgy was read in the churches, with the invidious omission of Queen Caroline's name ; and that he might enjoy the petty insult without discovery, that of the Duke of York, the heir presumptive, was omitted also. Parliament was dissolved and recalled without creating any sensation, and the language of the royal speech alluded to the distress amongst the labouring classes, and the machinations of the disaffected, in language that evinced no real feeling for the sufferings of one party, and little determination as to the correction of the other. The whole attention of the monarch seemed now fixed upon the degradation of his unhappy consort ; and to the accomplishment of this object solely, the ministers were directed to apply themselves. Agreeably to the desires of his majesty, Lord Liverpool presented a bill of pains and penalties against the queen, on the ground of adulterous intercourse with Bartolomeo Bergami, which, after an expenditure of 150,000*l.* ended in defeat, the majority in favour of the third reading of the bill being only nine. The minister failed also in carrying the divorce clause, although the most extraordinary efforts had been made by himself and his coadjutors to strengthen their ranks, upon which, after a serious waste of time, and consumption of public money, the bill was ultimately abandoned. The queen with a natural feeling of indignation, at first

declined to accept of any pecuniary grant; but upon the representations of her adherents, and their explanation, that the allowance was given, not by her unkind husband, but by the English people, she accepted a settlement of 50,000*l.* per annum. The Duke of Wellington took no overt share in these violent proceedings against the queen, but his connection with Lord Castlereagh sufficiently identified him with the court party. It was during the presentation of addresses, prepared in the enthusiasm of the moment, and resulting more from the predominant feeling of Englishmen to succour the distressed, than from any actual knowledge of the facts which they contained, that his grace, in his place in the house of lords, designated this particular description of petition as a "complete farce."

Much angry discussion arose, and was long continued, in both houses of parliament, upon the distressing position in which Queen Caroline was placed by the meditated proceedings of ministers, and the unmanly persecution to which she had been subjected, for several years, by one who was both her consort and her cousin. There were some who undertook the royal sufferer's cause from political motives, employing it as a weapon to wound the minister; but others, and they were numerous, discouraged the proceedings from principle, from respect for the character of the king and the people, and from disgust at the means which had been adopted to criminate a princess, who had been spurned by her husband, and permitted to pass into exile. Amongst the advocates for allowing the faults and failings of the queen to be forgotten, was the Earl of Caernarvon, who, in presenting a petition from the county of Hants, in favour of her majesty, complained, that extraordinary attempts had been made to prevent the county from assembling, and to obstruct the expression of public opinion, by persons holding official situations under government, and who were members of that house. These persons had put forth a counter requisition, stating that they had already presented an address to the king expressive of the sentiments of the county. This artifice was contemptible, unmanly, unworthy

of the high names associated with it by report, for the petition he held in his hand was subscribed by eight thousand persons, every one of whom was respectable by property and character. The Duke of Wellington supposed that he had been alluded to, as one who had signed the counter-requisition, but he begged to inform the house, that he had not signed it, and, the reasons of his refusal to do so were, that he was lord-lieutenant of the county, and a member of government; which in his opinion would have rendered such an act improper. He, however, expressly disapproved of assembling the county; for, as the counter-requisition was signed by nine thousand persons, he certainly considered the opinion of the county as sufficiently expressed, and that the farce of a county-meeting was therefore unnecessary. The use of the term "farce" employed in his grace's explanation, drew upon him the attacks of some of the ablest of his opponents, amongst whom the most powerful was the Marquis Lansdowne. This nobleman declared "that he heard with astonishment this term of reproach applied to the exercise of one of the most valuable rights of the subject, the more valuable because it was exercised in the face of day, and gave every individual in the county the opportunity of canvassing freely, and independently, the state of public affairs. That kind of assembly, which was then called a farce, a year before was the only regular, and constitutional mode, through which the throne could be approached with addresses of congratulation, and they were not stigmatized with the contemptuous epithet of farces by his majesty's ministers. His grace explained that he had not stated that the county had been called before, but that its sentiments had been sufficiently expressed in the address that had been publicly circulated and signed. With respect to the use of the word "farce," he did not adopt it from disrespect to county meetings generally.—He did not view such assemblies with disapprobation, when so conducted that both sides could be heard; but, when they were called by one party only, and when every one who wished to say anything in opposition to the opinions of that party, was under the necessity of

asking the protection of some noble lord, or person of influence amongst his opponents, in order to obtain a hearing—he certainly did not conceive that such a meeting expressed the sentiments of the county. As to the meeting then under discussion, the fact was, that the county member was unable to obtain a hearing there, his politics differing from those of the party by whom it had been summoned.”

This explanation does not release the duke from the charge of having employed an ill-chosen term, but it assuredly contributes to silence his opponents on this point, by reminding them that when he presented a petition from the city of Dublin, a few months before, it was asserted in parliament by Lord Holland, that the names of private soldiers and charity boys were to be found amongst the substitutes.

These assaults upon his political conduct were as ineffectual as those of the enemies of Europe upon his military positions; and, when the current of calumny had flowed past, he was found unaffected by its passage, and patiently toiling on in his parliamentary duties, as member of a select committee “for inquiring into the practicability of extending our foreign trade.”

On the fourth of March in this year, the Gazette contained his grace’s appointment as colonel-in-chief of the rifle brigade; and, that he was not forgotten by his old companions in arms, however the turbulent and factious were disposed to undervalue services which they could never requite, was at this period illustrated by an occasion of much interest, and no little danger. The first battalion of the third guards, having been removed into the new barracks in the king’s mews, were deprived of some advantages enjoyed while on billet. In consequence of this unpleasant change, they murmured against the amount of pay, the severity of duty, and exhibited feelings of general insubordination. The Duke of Gloucester, the colonel, promised redress, yet the murmurs did not abate; the Duke of Wellington next expressed his wish to make an inspection of the battalion, upon which, they at once expressed their contrition, and marched cheerfully out of London

for Portsmouth. In every service of danger the duke had always been foremost; in all instances of mediation, he was looked upon as the most just of public men; and, in those cases where the private feelings of meritorious persons were involved, none had ever been more ready to assist in alleviating sorrow. In the month of June the nation was deprived of the services of Henry Grattan, one of the most brilliant orators of any age, and one of the firmest patriots of any country; having devoted the most valuable portion of his life to the advancement of Irish interests, and having advocated, with the most entire sincerity, the cause of the Roman Catholics, he died, like the great Chatham, almost within the walls of that house which had so often re-echoed to his powerful appeals. From his entrance into parliament, he had been ranged under different political banners from those of his grace and Lord Castlereagh, but his family and his fame were not unknown to his illustrious countryman; and in generous acknowledgment of his esteem for both, the Duke of Wellington attended the patriot's remains to their sepulchre, in Westminster Abbey, as one of the pall-bearers, and saw all that remained of this virtuous and eloquent statesman deposited beside the grave of the great Lord Chatham, and adjoining to those of Pitt and Fox.

His grace being now a constant resident in London, the court journals recorded regularly the hospitalities of Apsley House, and the movements of its noble proprietor, not merely in the fashionable circles, but in his official duties. The splendour of the different presents made to his grace by the crowned heads of Europe, and then frequently displayed before his guests, became the subject of panegyric in the public journals, which did not fail to magnify their beauty and their value. In addition to the service of plate described in the annexed note,* the merchants and bankers of London presented to his grace a piece of plate in the form of a shield,

* The following description of the service of plate presented to his grace the Duke of Wellington by the king of Portugal, will convey some idea of the elegance of the design, and real effect of the whole. "The centre-piece

relieved with sculptures emblematic of his principal victories, from designs by Stothard, a popular artist of that period. The centre of the shield is occupied by equestrian figures of the duke and fourteen of the Peninsular generals, in *alto relievo*, of living and vigorous excellence. Two pillars, palm-trees, with groups of the different orders of troops serving in his campaigns, are placed beside the shield. On the outer border are expressed in ten compartments the battles and chief events of the duke's life up to 1814, representing, allegorically, the fruits of the victories given on the shield. The whole weighs about three hundred pounds, is of silver-gilt, forms a noble trophy to the British hero, and is one of the most splendid tributes to the arts in modern times. The decease of some of the artists engaged on this elaborate piece of work occasioned the postponement of its presentation until the year 1822, when Mr. Manning, M.P., chairman of the committee of merchants, was deputed to present the splendid gift to the illus-

represents the unanimity of the victorious sovereigns, by three faces, on each of which are the arms of the respective nations; around these faces are the four quarters of the globe, allegorically described—Europe, with a horse; Asia, with a camel; Africa, with a scorpion; America, with an alligator, making offerings to the victorious nations, of garlands and flowers, of most exquisite workmanship. The whole is surmounted by the globe, with a most correctly classical figure of Victory waving her benign wings over the Peninsula, and holding in her right hand an olive and palm branch, indicative of Peace and Triumph, and in her left three crowns of Laurel. The whole is supported by eight sphynxes, denoting the number of years which the victorious duke spent in the Peninsula. The next piece is the crest of Portugal, a griffin, with the thunder of Jupiter under his feet, denoting the irresistible prowess of the Portuguese nation. What next presents itself is a grand column, on which is a beautiful figure, representing one of the daughters of Tagus carrying trophies to adorn the grand triumphal centre. The beautiful and elegant candelabra, are called the Flambeaux of Victory, from their being composed of palm branches. Next is seen a grand column, on which are inscribed some of his grace's battles, around which are nymphs dancing, and carrying lights to display the inscriptions. The end-piece is an Egyptian figure, which, from its stability, indicates the general repose of nations. There are tablets of the whole of his grace's battles, in regular succession, on the plateau. The groundwork of the plateau is composed of silver burnished, a beautiful design; it is illuminated by 106 wax-lights, and the whole forms a most delightful spectacle. The length of the plateau is upwards of thirty feet, the breadth about three feet and a half."

trious duke. The ceremony of acceptance took place at the house of the manufacturers, Messrs. Green and Ward, Ludgate-street, in presence of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and other distinguished persons.

In the discharge of his duties as master-general of the ordnance, the attacks of Mr. Hume in the lower house, only proved his grace's invulnerability in this position also ; for, in reply to the economist, Mr. Ward stated, " that instead of the estimates showing a saving of only 3,000*l.* in that year, they exhibited a reduction of 53,000*l.* ; that the Duke of Wellington, in the two years in which he had been master-general, had abolished no less than sixty-eight places, by which 14,000*l.* per annum were saved to the public ; the salaries of the principal officers in that department had also been diminished ; and whenever a place became vacant, Mr. Ward affirmed that the first inquiry of his grace was, " Can this situation be abolished ? " The house felt perfectly satisfied with the explanation given by Mr. Ward, and rejected, in consequence, Mr. Hume's motion for inquiry into the expenditure of the department over which his grace presided.

The costly pageantry of a coronation being now about to be exhibited, at an expense of £282,000, the duke of Wellington was appointed to a place in the ceremony. His grace officiated as lord high constable, in which capacity it was his duty to convey the sword of state to the deputy lord great chamberlain, who laid it on the table before the king. Another part of his office consisted in visiting Westminster Hall, and seeing the golden covers laid upon the royal table. Before the clerks of the kitchen were permitted to enter the hall, the great doors were thrown open to the sound of trumpets, and the duke of Wellington, as lord high constable,—the marquis of Anglesea, as lord high steward,—and lord Howard, of Effingham, as deputy earl-marshal, entered upon the floor on horseback, remaining for some minutes under the archway. The duke was on the right, the earl-marshal on the left, and the marquis in the centre. The two former were mounted on snow-white horses, gorgeously trapped ; and the latter on his

favourite dun-coloured Arabian, the caparisons of which were equally splendid. Each was followed by a groom, and, at the head of the horses walked three pages, occasionally employed in soothing the spirited animals by patting their necks. While the clerks were placing the twenty-four covers on the table, the noble riders remained on horseback at the lowest step leading to the throne; and, as the gentlemen pensioners delivered their dishes, they retired between the horses, being followed by the duke and his co-adjutors, who backed their horses down the centre of the Hall. His grace appeared a second time during the ceremony, on the right of Mr. Dymoke, hereditary king's champion, as lord of the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, as he entered the Hall by the great gate: which concluded the duke's public duties on this occasion.

His grace was engaged in another duty, connected with the coronation ceremony, but of a less graceful character, namely, deciding, as a privy councillor, upon the merits of a petition from the queen, claiming, as a right, to be crowned with the king. In this judicial proceeding, he was assisted by the dukes of York and Clarence, whose absence, when the near relationship of Queen Caroline to our royal family is remembered, would have been infinitely more dignified and meritorious. The council were addressed at much length, and with conspicuous ability, by Mr. Brougham, who adduced incontrovertible facts from history, to prove that the queen of England possessed the legal and constitutional right of being crowned. But the most eloquent pleading must necessarily have proved ineffectual, before a tribunal consisting of the brothers of one of the parties to the suit; and it was accordingly concluded, "that as the queens-consort of this realm are not entitled, of right, to be crowned at any time, her majesty the queen is not entitled, as of right, to be crowned at the time specified in her majesty's memorial; of which report the king approved. In this decision the insulted princess is styled queen; yet when her majesty, accompanied by Lord Hood, presented herself at the door of the Abbey, and sought admission, the door-keepers stated they did not know the

queen, and coarsely rejected her from the entrance. Unable to endure the shock of so great an insult, her majesty retired from the scene, and, a few days after, died of that inextinguishable sorrow, which is generally called a broken heart.

Undeterred by any circumstances, the king proceeded in his wilful way, and, having appointed lords-justices, amongst whom was the Duke of Wellington, for the administration of the government, stated his intention of going out of the kingdom for a short period. Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover were visited in succession by the monarch, in each of which countries he was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

At the close of the year, his grace having attended the annual civic feast, upon the installation of the lord-mayor, left town for Teddesly, in Staffordshire, the seat of Edward J. Littleton, member for that county. As he approached the town of Walsall, he was met by a vast concourse, a part of whom loosed the horses from his carriage, and, attaching long ropes to the splinter-bar, drew him triumphantly to the principal hotel. His grace was waited on by the mayor, who addressed him on behalf of the burgesses in the most complimentary language. At Stafford he met with a similar reception; and circumstances having enabled him to make a longer stay in that town than at Walsall, he consented to receive a public address from the inhabitants, which was read to him by Francis Brookes, the town-clerk, in the great county-hall.* After the presentation

* *Address of the Corporation of Stafford, to his Grace, the Duke of Wellington.*

“May it please your Grace—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, Capital Burgesses and Inhabitants, of the Borough of Stafford, impressed with a due sense of the high and distinguished honour conferred upon us by your presence upon this occasion, beg leave to offer the assurance of our unfeigned and sincere respect. —We cannot but with feelings of gratitude contemplate those brilliant achievements, those past events, which have justly added to your Grace’s titles, that of the ‘greatest general in the world.’—When the Emperor of France, with fiend-like arm, was spreading desolation and dismay; when the Continental Powers, astounded by his gigantic strides, were shrinking from his grasp—it was the genius of Wellington that hurled him from his throne, and gave to Europe repose. The condescension with which your Grace has this day suffered your name to be enrolled in the list of Freemen of this *Ancient Borough*, will long

of the address, his grace, accompanied by sixty noblemen and gentlemen, partook of a *dejèune*, that had been prepared for the occasion, in the grand-jury room.

Returning to London, where public affairs urgently required his attendance, he had the gratification to find that his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This able statesman had devoted the energies of his mind, through a lapse of years, to the aggrandisement of his country, and had filled the highest offices in a manner that upheld the dignity of the British people in foreign countries. His vast experience in the government of a country, where such conflicting interests existed, rendered him peculiarly qualified to rule and reconcile the Irish people. In this unenviable duty he exhibited the same calmness and ability which characterized his Indian government, and, although he was unwelcome to the anti-Catholic party, his measures were treated with respect even by those who disliked his politics. Shortly after his excellency's arrival in Dublin, he attended at the theatre royal in vice-regal state, but was received on his entrance by equivocal demonstrations; these assumed gradually a more alarming appearance, until at length a bottle, thrown from the gallery, struck the front of the box in which his excellency sat. This outrage justified the introduction of the police, after which the performance was continued without further interruption. Two brothers, persons of known anti-

be remembered with pride. And that your Graee may long live under that shield of *Providence* which has hitherto protected you, to be as well an ornament, as a safeguard to your country, is our most ardent wish."

To which his Graee replied—"Gentlemen: I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in admitting me to the freedom of your Borough.—I am sure that I owe this honour to the sense you entertain of the services I have been enabled to render to my country; it is particularly gratifying to me to receive that honour from the principal Borough of a County, the residence of so many of those who were employed with me in the service of their country. Many of my companions in arms were inhabitants and natives of this town. Nothing is so gratifying as the receipt of rewards for services performed; I never can, I never shall forget the honour I have this day received.—Gentlemen, I beg leave, once more, to return you my sincere thanks."

Catholic opinions, were arrested, and tried for the offence, but the attorney-general was unable to obtain a verdict against them. It is not probable that any injury to the noble marquis was ever contemplated, and, that the circumstance was never fully explained, arose from the danger that would necessarily attend the confession of having been the owner of the bottle. It is a singular fact, that the attorney-general, who prosecuted upon *ex-officio* information in this case, when charged with straining the law for vindictive purposes, was ignorant that his predecessor had frequently filed informations in a similar manner; and, in consequence, he long lay under the unfair imputation; it is also not a little singular, that the fact of a bottle having been thrown at the Duke of Rutland, in the theatre royal, Dublin, about forty years before, was not adduced by the prisoner's council as a precedent, that nobleman having declined to notice the outrage.

The appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley to the viceroyalty of Ireland was, notwithstanding, a subject of congratulation to the Irish people. He had been born amongst them, his family and connections were essentially Irish, and the high reputation of the individual was a compliment to national vanity. His excellency perfectly understood the character of his subjects; and every act, associated with kindness and equity, was put in practice by him, to win the esteem of those whom politics had estranged, and retain that of the party by whom he was eminently respected. The Roman-Catholic party were for the first time, for above a hundred years, invited to court, and their public advancement promoted. This policy did not originate with the Marquis Wellesley solely, nor was it adopted by him upon any sudden impulse, resulting from his reception in Ireland,—it had been previously settled by the English cabinet, who had formed a coalition with the Grenvillites. The noble leader of that party had himself retired from public life, in which he had manifested many weaknesses and much fastidiousness, but the accession of his adherents was of paramount value to the ministry. The Marquis of Buckingham was now raised to a dukedom; Mr.

C. Watkyn Wynne was placed at the head of the India board ; and Mr. Plunkett, the advocate of Roman-Catholic emancipation, was made attorney-general for Ireland, on the removal of Mr. Saurin, a faithful public servant, then in the vigour of life, and who had filled that office without imputation, for upwards of twenty years.

While the transit of the Grenvillites to the ministerial benches was viewed as an act of dereliction, the high-church party were indignant at the change ; and in Ireland, where the viceroy is always accessible, remonstrances and murmurs daily reached him. Being invited to the lord mayor's banquet, the chief magistrate proposed the health of the Duke of Wellington, which, to the amazement of his excellency, was received with disapprobation. An approved good orator, he instantly rose, and begged to be informed in what his illustrious relative had offended his countrymen, particularly the loyal citizens of Dublin. A hundred voices exclaimed, "He has denied his country." The foundation of this charge has been before alluded to. In his grace's reply to an address from the nobility and gentry of the county of Meath, where his grace was born, he stated, that he had been so long an absentee from that county, even educated in the sister island, that he did not feel himself entitled to the name of Irishman. The coldness of this style, contrasted with the enthusiasm of the address, produced an astounding effect, it seemed to them the language of rejection, and the feeling was never obliterated, until the statesman's eloquent commentary upon the frigid narrative of the soldier, fully satisfied that sanguine, generous-hearted people, whose affection for their country has always been unlimited.

The state of Ireland, which Lord Londonderry asserted was that of open rebellion, now engrossed the attention of parliament ; and, had the Duke of Wellington been less interested in the welfare of that part of the empire than of others, the position of his noble brother would naturally have obtained from him the advantage of his experience and co-operation, in reducing it to tranquillity. To effect this object in a manner humane yet determined, the minister proposed to renew the insurrec-

tion act and the habeas-corpus-suspension bill, in Ireland. Such measures are most ungrateful to a free people, and it is honourable to England, that such acts never do pass through either houses of parliament, without drawing down upon their promoters the bitterest invectives which parliamentary usages can sanction or permit. A complete host of advocates for freedom now opposed Lord Liverpool's motion, rendering the assistance of his fellow-labourers absolutely necessary. The Duke of Wellington rose immediately after Lord Holland, who had spoken at considerable length against the motion, not to follow his lordship through all the details into which he had entered, but to advert to the employment of the military force in Ireland. He would first remind his lordship—who had argued as if the measure were a permanent and universal one—that it went only to enable the lord-lieutenant to proclaim certain disturbed districts, in which it was necessary some prompt and powerful measures should be adopted, in order to repress those lawless acts of nocturnal outrage by which life and property were violated. For the absolute necessity of putting those districts under the operation of the law, the lord-lieutenant was responsible, and he hoped the house would agree with him in concluding that his noble relative, alive to that responsibility, would not allow it to be put in execution, except when necessity demanded its application. As to the military force in Ireland, the amount of troops then stationed there, was double that which was quartered in that country before the commencement of the late war,—in fact, there was as large a force there as could well be employed. The law under discussion demanded the aid of force, to carry it into execution; the outrages, which the Irish government were bound to repress, were of two descriptions. There was a rebel force, openly arrayed in the field,—that description was to be met by force alone. In the other case, it would have to counteract the nightly aggressions of lawless bodies, who, taking advantage of darkness, plundered the peaceable inhabitants of their arms, and committed the most violent outrages. That force alone could not prevent these

disorders, was evident from the fact, that houses in the immediate vicinity of barracks, where troops were stationed, had been attacked and plundered. These occurrences were not imputable to any want of vigilance on the part of the military, but to the local nature of the country, and the disposition of the population. The certain means of preventing the repetition of outrages was,—preventing the people from leaving their homes from sunset to sunrise, and by punishing them if they were found absent. If it should be said, that the magistrates would require the aid of a military force to perform this duty, he did not mean to deny it; but, he thought that when a district was proclaimed, there would always be force enough to take up those found transgressing; and he would contend, that if government had doubled the existing military force then in Ireland, still the proposed law would be necessary, to enable government to deal with such individuals as he had described. When a different kind of outrage was committed by parties in open insurrection, of course a different remedy must be applied. The measures proposed by the ministry were carried by a large majority, not from any new arguments advanced by his grace, but from the disturbed state of Ireland, and the irresistible strength of the ministry: this serious subject was the last, upon which the duke addressed the house, until the close of the session.

CHAP. III.

THE COLOSSAL BRONZE STATUE SET UP IN HYDE PARK—DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF LONDON-DERRY, WHO IS SUCCEEDED BY MR. CANNING—PARLIAMENT OPENED BY COMMISSION—DEBATE ON THE CONGRESS OF VERONA—ROMAN CATHOLIC PETITION BROUGHT FORWARD IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—COMMERCIAL CRISIS—EARL OF LIVERPOOL RETIRES FROM PUBLIC LIFE—MR. CANNING BECOMES PREMIER, UPON WHICH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND HIS PARTY RESIGN OFFICE—AMENDMENT ON THE CORN-LAW PROPOSED AND CARRIED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—DEATH OF MR. CANNING—GODERICH ADMINISTRATION: ITS SUDDEN DISSOLUTION—BATTLE OF NAVARINO—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON BECOMES FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.—1822—1828,

A SUBSCRIPTION had been set on foot, about two years previous to this period, by the ladies of England, with a spirit that much became the well-sustained dignity of the female character in this country, to erect a monument to the illustrious defender of their happy and virtuous homes, and to his brave companions in arms—husbands, sons, brothers, lovers, of many amongst those from whom the noble tribute so gratefully emanated. Ten thousand pounds were speedily contributed; and were it not for contemptible jealousies, excited by the most worthless portions of society, those who envy the generous mind for its amiability, and the object of that liberality for its very worthiness, treble that amount would have been collected within the same limit of time. The sum, however, was sufficient to attain the object in view, and for more than twenty years, the ladies' offering remained the only trophy raised in London to commemorate the achievements of the warrior. The original, from which Westmacott borrowed his design, stands on the Quirinal Hill, at Rome. It is an extraordinary work, which has excited, not only by its magnitude, but by its excellence, the admiration of the greatest artists. It has been attributed by antiquaries to the hand of Phidias; and, although worthy of his name, yet, as Pausanias, and all other ancient writers are silent as to its existence, its origin is still a matter of conjecture. But the splendid work itself does not require the sanction of a name. During the papacy of Sixtus V. it was removed,

by direction of that extraordinary and learned pontiff, from the Baths of Constantine to its present position; Fontana was entrusted with the care of its removal. The horse which was found near the original, and now accompanies it, has been omitted; the most competent judges having decided that it did not form part of the ancient group, and was also not in unison with the grandeur of form displayed in the heroic statue. Critics have disagreed as to the subject; some imagining that it was an Achilles, others Castor, a third party that it represented Alexander and Bucephalus. The two latter opinions rest upon the supposition that the horse formed part of the ancient group, which is by no means certain; if true, where is the bonnet, the usual accompaniment of the Dioscuri? and the attitude of the figure is contrary to that in which the royal youth is placed, in all other groups expressive of that subject. Westmacott has adopted the first conjecture, and armed the figure with a short Greek sword and shield. It is hardly possible, however, to conceive any more unmeaning or inappropriate design; and, were it not for its very interesting origin, the happy position in view of the hero's palace windows, and admixture of the name of Achilles, this great work would only be esteemed as a criterion of the state of art in the nineteenth century. To assure posterity that the colossus actually has a reference to the hero of modern ages, his name is introduced upon the granite pedestal.* The practical part of this very lasting memorial, is creditable to the artist—in fact, may be called wonderful. Not a flaw or scratch detracts from the harmony of its pure proportions and anatomical markings. It is so completely *factus ad unguem*, that the surface of the body, the limbs, the head, are all as exquisitely finished, as if the production were a copy of so many inches in size as it is in feet. Edmund Burke ranks magnitude amongst the sources of the sublime in feeling; and it is pro-

* Inscription—"To Arthur Duke of Wellington, and his brave Companions in Arms, the statue of Achilles, cast from cannon taken in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Toulouse, and Waterloo, is inscribed by their countrywomen.—Upon the base also is the following: "Placed on this spot on the 18th day of June, 1822, by command of his majesty, George IV."

bable, that no work of art exists, in which it is so intimately blended with grace and beauty.—It is the largest cast ever undertaken in England, or, possibly, since the restoration of the art of casting in brass by Zenobius, now eighteen centuries ago—the figure being twenty feet in height, and weighing upwards of thirty-six tons.

When the friends of our youth begin to fall around us, like autumnal leaves, we feel the chilling cold of the winter of our existence approaching, and comprehend, more forcibly, our obligation to the Creator of the universe, for having spared us to that age, for the happiness of our fellow-creatures, and our own worldly renown; but when we behold the proudest amongst us cut off in the vigour of manhood, and at the summit of earthly aggrandisement, and that too by the event of self-destruction, we shudder at the precarious nature of our vital tenure, and the power that has been, through benignity alone, committed to us. This reflection is urged with humiliation and regret, at our having to record an illustration of the instability of earthly prosperity, and the vain inadequacy of rank and power, and all other objects of human ambition. On the twelfth of August, 1822, Robert, Marquis of Londonderry, the early, affectionate, and constant friend of the Duke of Wellington, the most efficient member of the British cabinet, one of the ablest diplomatists of his age, and the uncompromising adversary of that party which would have deprived Wellington of the command of the British armies, died by his own hand. At the period of this deplorable event, he was in his fifty-fourth year, held the foreign secretaryship, and had been for some years leader of the ministerialists in the house of commons. Pressure of public duties affected his bodily health, which in this instance produced a temporary aberration of intellect. His state of mind had been noticed by the king a few days before, when the minister bade him farewell, previous to his embarking for his Scotch dominions; but his majesty having understood, that his lordship proceeded directly home to North Cray, in Kent, felt satisfied that his situation would receive that attention which it required; and

in consequence took no notice of it. On the third day before the marquis's decease, the Duke of Wellington perceived distinctly that his intellect was affected, and with the utmost despatch wrote to Dr. Bankhead, desiring that he would proceed at once to North Cray. His letter on the occasion is the best evidence, that can now be offered, of the strength and duration of that mutual friendship which existed between these distinguished men, until terminated by the hand of death. It was written on the ninth, at London, and is as follows: "I called upon you with the intention of talking to you about Lord Londonderry, and of requesting you would call upon him. He promised me that he would send for you, but, lest he should not, *I entreat* you to find some pretence for going down to him. I entertain no doubt that he is very unwell. It appears that he has been overworked during the session, and that his mind is overpowered for the moment, and labours under a delusion. I state the impression made upon me in an interview I have just had with him. I told him that this was my impression, and think it is his own, and he will probably communicate it to you. But lest he should not, I tell you what I think; begging you never to mention to any body what I have told you. I am setting out this moment for the Netherlands. I would have staid with Lord Londonderry, but he would not allow me. I shall be very much obliged to you if you will write me a line, and have it left at my house, to let me know how you find him; and particularly if you think I am mistaken." The conclusion at which his grace arrived was but too well founded; upon the receipt of this anxious letter, Dr. Bankhead proceeded to his residence, and, being sent for by the marquis, as he entered the room, perceived the unhappy nobleman bleeding profusely;—advancing towards him, he received him in his arms, where he expired in a few moments,—he had separated the carotid artery.

The close intimacy that subsisted between Lord Londonderry and the Duke of Wellington, not only justifies, but demands a brief notice of the minister: and that every suspicion of desiring to elevate or depress the fame of a man who was so

unpopular in his life-time, may be stilled, his enemies shall be permitted to delineate his portrait;—even they have ascribed to him a fair proportion of ability, accompanied by the very highest order of private virtue.

When we find (says the editor of the ablest and most popular journal of the day) within the course of a few years, no less than three eminently gifted members of the British senate, sink, in the most high and feeling state of their faculties, with a sudden and instantaneous blight of reason, and driven, by an almost momentary fit of insanity, to the unconscious act of self-destruction, we cannot but tremble at the frail term of those brilliant talents, which seem to form the most genuine and dignified objects of human pride. It is needless to dispute on the gradations by which the late marquis ascended to his two-fold distinction of diplomatist and debater, or to notice the censures which may have been passed on him in both of these characters; it is enough to say, that in the house of commons, he was considered to discharge, with extraordinary tact and effect, the difficult office of a parliamentary leader; and throughout the continent of Europe, he was looked up to as one of the ablest negociators of the age. If *personal* honours be regarded, which, though an ingenuous mind will perhaps rank them below the acquirements of talent and experience, are yet justly classed amongst the enviable distinctions of social life, how richly was Lord Londonderry endowed with these splendid gifts of fortune! To his own merits was owing the last elevation in the peerage, conferred on his noble father, and transmitted to himself. Decorated with the highest domestic and many foreign orders, a cabinet minister, and a personal favourite of his sovereign, it was scarcely possible for him to acquire any new title, or outward claim, to the reverence of his fellow-citizens. His personal appearance and deportment were well suited to his other distinctions: but he had better claims, than any yet mentioned, to that peace of mind, which it must have been thought would for ever have shielded him from the dire calamity to which he fell a victim. Of high honour, fearless, undaunted, and firm in his resolves,

he combined in a remarkable manner, with the *fortiter in re*, the *suaviter in modo*. To his political adversaries (and he had no other) he was at once frank, open, unassuming, and consequently conciliating. With respect to his private character, he was happy in his union with a most amiable consort—he was the pride of a venerated father—and towards a beloved brother, it may be truly said, he was *notus animi fraterni*. Beneficent to the poor, mild, considerate, and forbearing in his family, he was firm to the connexions and associations of his early days; not only those of choice, but of accident, when not unworthy; and, to promote them, and advance their interests, his efforts were sincere and indefatigable. In power, he forgot no service rendered to him while he was in a private station, nor broke any promise expressed or implied, nor abandoned any friend who claimed or merited his assistance. That acts of cruelty had been perpetrated under the view of the Irish executive, it would be vain to deny; but with what precise share the memory of Lord Londonderry is chargeable, has never been determined; and however indubitable his public services, under the advice of the Duke of Wellington, and however excellent his private life, (a fact which is also equally acknowledged,) he was never able to blot out those spots from his name, which his mode of suppressing the Irish rebellion has left upon it. The Irish people were never reconciled to him, and felt no gratification of national vanity in his exaltation. The generous and humane nature of the English character rendered popularity a hopeless acquisition in his lordship's case. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, and deposited between the graves of Pitt and Fox—the chief public officers and the foreign ambassadors attending, and the Duke of Wellington being present as one of the pall-bearers. The procession moved slowly through the streets, apparently unnoticed, until it reached Westminster Abbey, when, at the moment of the removal of the coffin from the hearse, into the grand mausoleum to which it was about to be consigned, the mob, no longer capable of suppressing their vindictive feelings, raised a hideous shout of exultation.

On the sixteenth of September, Mr. Canning, who had been appointed governor-general of India, and was preparing to embark for our Oriental possessions, was chosen to succeed the late Marquis of Londonderry as foreign secretary. In this nomination, it is not probable that the Duke of Wellington was consulted; the privation which he had sustained, in the death of his old and valued friend, disqualified him, for the moment, from taking any part in the selection of a successor; besides, Mr. Canning, whom the duke did not personally esteem, had, by his passiveness in the prosecution of the queen, laid the king under an obligation to him, which might have rendered interference vain.

The last sad duties, therefore, to the friend of his youth, having been discharged, his grace set out for the continent, to be present at the approaching congress of Verona, opened on the twentieth of October, and to which he was the only foreign plenipotentiary admitted. The liberty of Greece was one of the subjects that engaged the attention of the allied powers, and the question of peace or war between France and Spain another. This congress was the tenth that had been held since that of Reichenbach, in Silesia, in 1790, and the objects of all were identical, namely, the maintenance of the integrity of every European kingdom, and security of their thrones to the legitimate families. On the fourteenth of the month the congress issued a circular, declaring the insurrection of the Greeks to be a rebellion against the legitimate Turkish monarchy; but, whether Ferdinand of Spain should be permitted to establish a ferocious despotism, was a question viewed very differently by different powers. Austria and Prussia expressed some feelings of compassion for the enslaved Spaniards; the autocrat of Russia would condemn them to the abject service of their imbecile king; but the Duke of Wellington advocated peace, denied the right of foreign powers to interfere in the affairs of the Peninsula, and was of opinion also, that the Spaniards, having bravely fought for their freedom, were eminently entitled to it. The duke's advice was so far followed, that none had the moral courage to oppose him; and, upon

on the breaking up of congress in the middle of December, his grace proceeded to Paris, for the purpose of mediating in the Spanish question. The French in the mean time were pursuing, in the most artful manner, their designs against the freedom of Spain, and on the twenty-seventh of the month, the corps, which had been assembled on the frontiers, as a *sanitary cordon*, to prevent the extension of the fever then raging in Barcelona, was changed, by the issuing of a note from M. de Villele, the French minister, into an *army of observation*. The spirit of the minister's edict was, that if Spain hesitated to alter her political constitution, France would employ force, to correct her from her revolutionary theories. The capital of France was much agitated when the Duke of Wellington arrived there, and the talents of Chateaubriand had secured to the war-party a powerful support. At this crisis, when the king was shaken by the popularity and eloquence of the opposition leader, the balance was suddenly turned in his favour, upon the espousal of his views by the English nation. The first declaration of his Gallic majesty, after the arrival of the duke, was, that his own opinion was in favour of peace, but that it was his fixed determination to abide by the advice of the Duke of Wellington. It was well known that the duke had insisted upon the preservation of peace all over Europe, in his place at congress, and circumstances subsequently transpired which tended to prove, that the crowned heads, while they made a show of opposition to the remonstrances of his grace, were secretly resolved upon adopting his counsel, being then sincerely satisfied, not only of his splendid military talents, but of his extraordinary caution, manly disinterestedness, and noble sense of justice. The autocrat of Russia was occasionally dissentient, feeling that such privilege belonged to the pride of kings; but there are sufficient grounds for believing that he entertained, not merely esteem and admiration, but a warm affection for the British hero. In the month of December, his grace having completed his duties as plenipotentiary at Verona, and executed his mission to Paris, returned to London, and, in less than two hours after his arrival, proceeded

to the foreign office, for the purpose of having an interview with Mr. Canning; but the minister being then at Brighton with the king, he proceeded to the ordnance office, where he passed the remainder of the day in transacting the public business.

The agitation into which France was thrown by the ultras was fomented by the spirit of that authority which was assumed by the Holy Alliance; and the king's difficulties increased so rapidly, that their weight exceeded his feeble power. At last, however, the intolerant propensity of the Bourbon prevailed, and, in an infatuated speech, composed in the most turgid style, the monarch stated, "One hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family—by him whom my heart delights to call my son—are ready to march, invoking the god of St. Louis, for the sake of preserving the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV.,—of saving that fine kingdom from ruin, and of reconciling it with Europe. Our stations are about to be reinforced in those places where a maritime commerce has need of that protection; cruisers shall be established everywhere, where our arrivals can possibly be annoyed. If war is inevitable, I will use all my energies to narrow its circle, and limit its duration; it will be undertaken only to conquer a peace, which the present state of Spain would render impossible. *Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give his people institutions, which they cannot hold but from him*, and which, by securing their tranquillity, would dissipate the just inquietudes of France: hostilities shall cease from that moment—I make before the chambers this solemn engagement. I was bound to lay before them the state of our foreign relations. It was for me to deliberate, I have done it maturely. I have consulted the dignity of my crown, the honour and security of France.—We are Frenchmen, we shall always be agreed to defend such interests."

The invasion of Spain, for the purpose of putting down the constitutional system, was deprecated by M. de Talleyrand, and by General Foy, in the French chambers; and upon the opening of the English parliament, in the month of February, 1823, was denounced by the Marquis of Lans-

downe, as a war against morality and property,—a war of impurity and sacrilege, deprecated by every independent mind ;—and by Mr. Brougham in the lower house, who repeated his opinion, that a meeting of crowned heads boded no good to free institutions. The opposition persevered, in a manner highly creditable to their liberal professions, and most triumphantly as respected their great talents for debate, in condemning that policy which would impose, gratuitously, the yoke of slavery upon a gallant people, who had so recently emancipated themselves from a most fierce despotism. Lord Liverpool denied that he had ever defended, or possessed, the principles attributed to him ; assured the house, that he had not anticipated any discussion at Verona on the Spanish question ; that the Duke of Wellington acted in conformity with the principles laid down in the despatches forwarded to him by Mr. Canning, which were also the views of the late foreign secretary ; and he referred the house to the noble individual himself, who was then present, for a confirmation of what he had stated.

Totally uninfluenced by the clamours of men, who had become habitually the opponents of the Liverpool administration, the Duke of Wellington yielded to the claim of explanation, and said, in reference to the observations which had been made upon his conduct, that in his answers to the questions of the French government, he had referred to the principle laid down by the late secretary of state, in a document dated May, 1820, of non-interference in the internal concerns of other states,—it was impossible to deny that that was the intention of the second paragraph of the answer, commencing with these words—“ Without adverting to those principles which his majesty’s government must always consider the rule of their conduct, in relation to the internal affairs of other countries,” &c. The principle was carried still further in the answer which he had given, upon receiving the despatches which the allied sovereigns had resolved upon sending to their minister at Madrid. He had there declared, that “ to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent state, unless such transactions affected the essential interests of his

majesty's subjects, was inconsistent with those principles on which his majesty had invariably acted on all questions relating to the internal concerns of other countries." Now, he really did not know how he could have expressed the opinions of his government in stronger terms than those which he had made use of. This brief explanation silenced the murmurs of the opposition, for that occasion ; and the debate ended without the passing of any vote upon the question. It is due to his grace, however, to explain, more fully than his own modesty and caution permitted him to do, the conduct he actually did pursue, personally, on this subject, at the congress ; and this will be most effectually accomplished by an extract from Lord Liverpool's defence of the ministry : "From the moment," observed his lordship, "that our government discovered that it was designed to violate the independence of Spain, the Duke of Wellington refused to take any part in the deliberations of the congress ; and, up to the last moment, Great Britain continued to address to the allied sovereigns, and more particularly to the French government, every form of remonstrance against the aggression upon Spain, short of an actual menace of war. Concurrently with these remonstrances, it employed all its good offices to effect an accommodation, and with some prospect of success, until the king of France suddenly extinguished all hopes of peace, by his unexpected speech to the chambers." His lordship professed the utmost anxiety for the final triumph of Spain, and declared, that neutrality was, at least for the present, the sounder policy for this country, not merely as necessary to recruit our exhausted resources, and to secure those commercial advantages which must necessarily be sacrificed by a war, but, because, if England embarked at all in the war, she should become the principal, for our engaging on the side of Spain would render the war more popular in France ; and because, if the Spaniards were sincerely attached to the constitution, from then ature of their country they must triumph over France ; but if the majority were not so disposed, it would be unjust, and unbecoming the character of Great Britain, to become the ally of a minority."—Earl Grey declared that he

was not satisfied with the conduct of ministers; he desired to be more fully informed as to the precise instructions given to the Duke of Wellington, after it had been ascertained that the Spanish question would be brought forward at Verona; and he animadverted, with much severity, upon the part England had taken in the recent negotiations.—Lord Holland compared what he termed the “lukewarm remonstrances of ministers in the late negotiations,” to the connivance of a Catholic priest, who should pretend to dissuade a gang of incendiaries or house-breakers from the commission of a crime, by cold arguments against the injustice and risk of the meditated offence.

The contest did not rest here:—on the twenty-fourth of April it was renewed by Lord Ellenborough, who brought forward a motion for an address to the crown, expressive of the opinion of the house, “That the line taken by ministers in the late negotiation, was not calculated to avert a war—that the attempt to effect a change in the Spanish constitution, was not becoming the character of the British government—and that no reliance was to be placed upon the forbearance of France from views of aggrandisement.” The principal debaters on both sides entered warmly into the contest; Lord Grenville, whose followers had been noticed by the government, pressing an amendment complimentary to ministers. The dispute had now assumed a grave character, requiring a full and open explanation on the part of the government; and, as Lord Liverpool was aware that the contents of the despatches of Mr. Canning and his predecessor, contained literally the Duke of Wellington’s views, and that he himself did not venture to alter or to tamper with them, he left the illustrious man to explain those peaceful doctrines, and point out to the country their wisdom and propriety.—His grace, in rising, said, he felt himself called upon to vindicate the part he had taken in the conferences at Verona, although his friend, Lord Aberdeen, had already ably urged several of the topics on which his vindication would rest. He stood before that house, not only as the individual who conducted the negotiations at Verona, but also

as a member of the cabinet, which had drawn up the instructions upon which he acted; and he called upon the lords opposite to state, whether, at the commencement of those negotiations, they would have taken measures of war or of neutrality, for the basis of future proceedings. Their arguments would lead to war, although they still seemed to lean towards pacific measures:—why not declare themselves at once? The government, however, having decided upon observing a strict neutrality, so instructed him upon his setting out for Verona; and those instructions were there the rule of his diplomatic conduct. He could not detail the minute occurrences of the congress; sufficient data were already before the house, to enable them to sift the policy of ministers, and upon these alone he would rest his vindication, premising, however, that the arguments which he employed at Verona, were not addressed to a British public or parliament, but to the ministers of powerful and independent states. He had been blamed for not placing the principles contained in the Marquis of Londonderry's instructions in a more prominent point of view. A reference to the document would refute that charge: besides, he had repeatedly appealed to those instructions, although such appeal was immaterial, the principles contained in them not being admitted by any one of the allied powers. He had not been sent to Verona to defend the correctness of those principles, but to refuse, on the part of Great Britain, to interfere at all in the internal affairs of Spain. On that principle he had stood, during the whole course of the negotiations; and from first to last he had endeavoured to dissuade the allied powers from interfering in them, by urging at one time those difficulties which his own experience in Spain suggested to him, that they must meet, if they persisted in such a design; and by stating, at another, the embarrassments it was likely to create to the French government, if it should pertinaciously resolve to carry it into execution.

It was stated that he had been duped, completely duped, by those propositions which the French government offered to the consideration of the congress. This statement he utterly

denied, for he had foreseen the probability that the French government would have recourse to offensive measures; and the papers, then on the table of the house, would prove, that he had stated his opinion to the ministers before he quitted London for Verona. But admitting that he had actually been duped, still it was not his duty to have insulted the assembled sovereigns, by telling them that he disbelieved the grounds on which they stated their readiness to enter into discussion. Wishing to preserve the peace of Europe, it was his duty to avoid irritating topics; acting as a mediator, he must necessarily have shunned all arguments of menace and of force. He thanked the opposition lords for their desire to see him come out of that discussion with an untainted reputation; but he should have felt more confidence in their sincerity, if he perceived no inclination on their part to pervert, misquote, and misrepresent his language, and attribute meanings which it did not naturally bear, and which they must know were never intended. He had been accused of disobeying the instructions delivered to him by Mr. Canning; he referred to his answer contained in the printed papers before the house, in which it will be found, that he conveyed the determination of England not to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain, to the foreign ministers, in the strongest and most energetic language he could use. His grace complained of the censures so lavishly bestowed on him, in consequence of the remarks he had made relative to the French army of observation. His instructions stated that the formation of such a corps, while civil war was raging on the frontier, was only a measure of proper precaution; but Lord Ellenborough, most unfairly, stopped at the paragraph which went to exculpate his grace in the most complete manner; it was this, "His Britannic majesty sincerely wishes that this measure may be effectual in attaining the objects for which it is calculated, and that the wisdom of the French government will have induced them to explain it at Madrid, in such terms, as will satisfy the government of his Catholic majesty of its necessity." In the representations he had made to congress upon this point, he had neither failed in

respect for the allied powers, nor duty to his country; he had employed the fullest, fairest, and strongest terms his mind could suggest to him, and gone as far as it was possible for him to do, without giving offence to the different powers with whom we were in amity and alliance. Having added a few words, much influenced by personal friendship, in defence of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who had been sent to Madrid to induce the Spaniards to make some change in their constitution, to avoid the evils of civil war, his grace concluded by stating, that on these explanations he rested his defence before his country, before Europe, and the civilized world.

Earl Grey denied that any of his adherents had intentionally misquoted the paper submitted to the house, and in an elaborate speech “deprecatèd, deplored, lamented the degradation which had fallen upon this country, in consequence of the part it had taken in the late negociations; most of all, he lamented that the name which was most prominent in those transactions which had entailed such *lasting infamy* on the country, should be that of the Duke of Wellington, who, on other occasions, had shed such lustre and such glory upon it.” His lordship ridiculed the instructions given to the duke, in language bitter and reproachful. He heard it stated, (he said,) with surprise, that, at all events, “come what may,” oh laudable ambition! oh praiseworthy determination! to carry the country to the highest pitch and pinnacle of glory!—that “come what may,” even though Spain should be subjugated to France, and that scheme of aggrandisement which Louis XIV. had contemplated, but could not execute—which that much greater man, Napoleon, had likewise attempted in vain—should be carried into execution by the Bourbons of the present day, that, at all events, the British ministers would not interfere to prevent it.”—Persevering to attribute the disgrace and mismanagement, as his lordship termed it, of the negociation at Verona to the duke, he consequently endeavoured to refute, or retort, every argument adduced by that illustrious person. He declared that it must have been known to ministers that France was exciting rebellion in

Spain, while she was forming her *cordon sanitaire*, and that she was even then marching into Spain, to restore the king, and to abolish the constitution. The king, he contended, must not only be seated, but supported on his throne. He must be protected by the bayonets of France, as the king of Naples had been by those of Austria; such must be the inevitable result of the success of France, "but that she may not be successful," exclaimed his lordship, "may God of his infinite mercy grant!" Loudly cheered from the opposition benches, he proceeded to assert that Spain would receive support from other countries in her necessity, and concluded by affirming his satisfaction at having relieved himself from all participation in the foulest disgrace that had ever befallen this country. He had never given a more cordial, zealous, or confident vote, in the course of his political life, than that which he should that night give in favour of Lord Ellenborough's motion. The noble leader of the opposition maintained his reputation as an able debater with his own party, by the courage and address with which he assailed the hero of the age; but his sharpest weapons were discharged in vain, for, upon a division of the house, there appeared to be a majority of ninety-four against the motion. The unpopular measure itself, which constituted the object of Lord Ellenborough's motion, was hastened on by the French; and the army of observation, entering Madrid on the twenty-fourth of May, compelled the Spaniards to accept the chains which Ferdinand was prepared to throw over them.

Early in the year 1824, Earl Grey brought forward the petition of the Irish Roman Catholics, on which occasion the Duke of Wellington took no part, nor did he, during the two following years, appear to interest himself in this important question, which he alone ultimately succeeded in carrying through the upper house—an achievement which the most eloquent statesmen had attempted in vain. It is pertinent to the part the duke performed at a subsequent period, to state the contents of the petition now submitted to parliament. The Roman Catholics, in their list of grievances, did not place emancipation in the

front rank, but demanded, as more important preliminaries, a reform in the temporalities of the Protestant church, a different mode of electing jurors, and the disfranchisement of municipal corporations. In the lower house, Mr. Brougham presented a similar petition, but, in both cases the members to whom they were entrusted dissented, totally, from these new and extravagant claims. The want of sympathy for the petitioners on the part of their best and most sincere advocates, disarmed the opponents of all concession, and the parliament was prorogued in the month of June following, without having exhibited, during its sitting, any display of animosity. The policy of the ministers was conciliating; all things wore an appearance of prosperity and content; and, on the eighth of September, the London Gazette did not include the name of a single bankrupt. This tranquil appearance, like the bright colour and aspect of rude health, that lights up the features of the hectic invalid, was equally deceitful, and concealed the incipient disease then about to attack the mercantile constitution of England.

The abundance of capital unemployed, the facility with which credit could be obtained to an amount equal to the real capital of every merchant, engendering a spirit of over-trading, consequences, the most deplorable and unexpected, soon ensued. At the commencement of the year 1825, two hundred and seventy-six joint-stock companies had been projected; the aggregate capital embarked in them, amounting, *on paper*, to upwards of one hundred and seventy-five millions sterling, a large portion of which was vested in mining adventures in South America. On the third of February, parliament was re-opened by commission, and the royal speech afforded sufficient proof that ministers were ignorant of the sleeping embers on which the people trod, by their allusion to the general prosperity of the country, and the thriving condition of all classes. The rapid growth of this extraordinary propensity was watched with the most anxious feeling by the Duke of Wellington, who, wisely, did not waste his labours for the public good by useless declamation, but, in private, gave the most prudent counsel to the leading merchants of the metro-

polis. His services were deeply felt, and warmly acknowledged by that liberal class of men, who invited the illustrious duke to a splendid banquet, at which he was presented with a beautifully chased silver vase, of the value of one thousand guineas, in consideration of the services he had rendered to the state, as separate and independent of his heroic military achievements.

At this period, few subjects occurred in parliament, possessing attraction enough to induce his grace to address the house ; but, questions were rapidly approaching, which absorbed public feeling, and involved the great man in the excitement which they produced. Amongst those to which we more especially allude is Lord Suffield's bill, "to render the setting of spring-guns for the protection of game illegal." His grace was the first who rose to speak upon the motion, and, in the few remarks which he made upon it, evinced the same spirit of liberality, fairness, and humanity, which had influenced the whole of his previous life. He thought that the principle of the bill should be such as to include all species of enclosures. If spring-guns were not to be employed for the protection of game, he did not see any reason for their being set for the protection of roses and apples. He would object to the bill, unless it were extended to all other property, as well as to game. He believed that accidents from spring-guns were very rare, and that the effect of setting them had been rather the prevention of poaching than the endangering of human life. The apparent opposition of the duke was mistaken by the promoter of the bill, who made an unbecoming attack upon his grace, only excusable, or explicable, upon the plea of his having lost all control over his temper. He complained that the suggestion of the duke went to the length of abolishing spring-guns in every case ; which exceeded the object of his bill. His zeal, he said, had surpassed his discretion, and although he was accustomed to scenes of horror, no one would presume that he had therefore become hardened to human suffering. He did not accuse the duke of insincerity, yet he considered that the argument of his grace involved an inconsistency ; and, if he were insincere

he could not have hit upon a more successful mode of defeating the bill. It appeared to him that the duke was practising a *ruse de guerre*, which ought not to be attempted in parliament. "To employ artifice," continued Lord Suffield, "to defeat the bill, was not what he should expect from the noble duke. If that noble person now resorted to artifice, when did he learn to employ it? He could see no trace of it in his conduct on other occasions. At all events, he must have acquired it since the date of the convention of Cintra, which he had signed at the head of a victorious army. He contended, notwithstanding a contrary belief on the part of the duke, that accidents from spring-guns were of frequent occurrence, and concluded this indiscreet speech, by expressing a promise that he would introduce another bill, to abolish the employment of spring-guns in gardens, if the duke would not defeat the object of the bill then in committee.—The Duke said he would not defend himself against the insinuations thrown out with respect to transactions in which he had been engaged—insinuations which were perfectly unparliamentary, because they had no relation to the subject under consideration, but to his conduct before he was a member of that house. But the bill, in its existing form, contained an unfair insinuation against country gentlemen, who might wish to preserve their game by spring-guns rather than by gamekeepers, because the latter mode was not so consistent with their fortunes, as it might be with that of the noble lord opposite. He thought the house should not suffer such an insinuation of cruelty against the country-gentlemen to pass. The measure was evidently faulty, because when it was proposed to extend the principle, it was found to be so unfair, that it could not be applied beyond an individual case. He should insist upon its being made applicable to all enclosures on this principle, that small country gentlemen should not be deprived of the only means they had of protecting their game. If country gentlemen were deprived of the use of these instruments, they must employ more watchmen to protect their properties, which would be attended with greater expense, and greater loss of life. The noble promoter of the

bill apologized for having introduced irrelevant matter, and exceeding the just limits of parliamentary usages; his grace did not notice this explanation, nor remark further on the bill, committing its future care to Lord Liverpool.

The Catholic relief bill began now daily to acquire supporters, enlist new advocates, and attract the serious attention of both houses of parliament. Amongst the eminent opponents of the measure on this occasion was the Duke of York, a zealous and consistent adherent to the old institutions and established religion of England. His royal highness said, "Twenty-eight years had elapsed since the subject was first agitated; that its agitation had been the source of the illness that clouded the last ten years of his father's life; and that, to the last moment of his existence, he would adhere to his Protestant principles,—so help him God!" This declaration was followed by the rejection of the bill; upon which a bill for the disfranchisement of forty-shillings freeholders, intended as a security, was withdrawn.—On the sixth of July, parliament was prorogued, after a session laborious in discussion, but wholly abortive in practical benefits to the country.

The commercial panic, which threatened the country at the close of the year, took effect most completely on the eighth of December, 1825, in consequence of the failure of Wentworth's bank in Yorkshire, and of sixty-seven other provincial banks, which either stopped or suspended payment;—in addition to which, six of the principal banking firms in London closed their doors. This calamity was partially met by the prudent and spirited conduct of one hundred and fifty wealthy merchants, who assembled at the Mansion-house on the fourteenth, and passed the following resolution: "That the unprecedented embarrassments were mainly to be attributed to an unfounded panic; that they had the fullest reliance on the banking establishments of the Capital and country, and therefore determined to support them, and public credit, to the utmost of their power." This considerate determination had its due effect, but the nation obtained more valuable relief by the re-issue of one- and two-pound notes, by the Bank of England,

as well as of sovereigns from the Mint, which were coined, in that public department, at the rate of one hundred and fifty thousand each day. The stoppage of private banks was succeeded by a melancholy list of bankrupt traders, ninety-three being gazetted on one day, the fourth of March, 1826, from which crisis the fever appeared to abate rapidly. At the opening of parliament, the royal speech sympathized with the distressed manufacturers and merchants, and the king himself commenced a subscription for their relief, by the munificent donation of £2000. Notwithstanding the vast efforts of the nobility and men of property throughout the kingdom, no symptoms of returning prosperity cheered the operatives in their hours of misery, until the opening of 1827, when employment was generally to be had, and, although wages were comparatively low, the working classes were then enabled to live unassisted by the bounty of the rich. In all these public difficulties, the Duke of Wellington was amongst the first to assist in alleviating the sufferings of the country by his salutary counsel: it was he who recommended the issue of coin from the Mint, as well as the affordance of a temporary relief to the country bankers by the re-issue of small notes by the Bank of England. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which the mania for speculation reached, from the following statement, derived from an authentic table of the bubble companies, projected during a period of not quite two years. The number of schemes amounted to two hundred and forty-three, on which the amount of capital proposed to be subscribed was two hundred and forty-eight millions, forty millions of which were actually paid; and the author of this curious calculation has concluded, that, had the mania been carried to its meditated extent, the total capital required would have been three hundred and fifty millions sterling.

The Duke of Wellington's assistance was granted, in this and several other public measures of importance, in the most unostentatious manner; and while his mind must have been occupied upon the question of the currency, the distress in the manufacturing districts, and the long-disputed problem of the

corn-laws, he was also much engaged in preparing, directing, and despatching a force of five thousand effective men to Portugal, to aid our ancient ally in resisting a most unprovoked and violent aggression on the part of Spain. His grace also undertook an additional public burden, being appointed a commissioner for the affairs of India, in conjunction with Sir Robert Peel, and other leading individuals of both houses of parliament. He had also borne a considerable share of the ministerial duty, in supporting the appeal of Lord Bathurst to the house, on the twelfth of December, for taking into consideration the king's message respecting Portugal, and the prayer of the princess-regent of that kingdom, for assistance against the violence and aggression of Spain. His grace defended the conduct of ministers in not having adopted the proposed measures at an earlier period, on the ground that while negotiation could be employed with any advantage, it was not desirable to have recourse to war; that the perfidious acts of the Spaniards were much more to be attributed to the servants of the Spanish government, than to that government itself: they ought rather to be looked on as the acts of the captains-general of provinces, and even of the ministers of the king of Spain, than as emanating in any way from his Catholic majesty. It was impossible for him to see two armies on both sides of the Douro and Guadiana, making preparations for invasion, and actually violating the territory of Portugal, and not believe that those armaments were brought together with the connivance and contrivance of the authorities of the countries in which they were formed. Their aggressions, in his grace's opinion, made out a *casus fœderis*, and would afford a sufficient justification for our interference; but though the *casus fœderis* existed, he yet hoped the steps which ministers had taken, would have the desired effect, and bring the king of Spain to that sense of what was due to himself and his own dignity, which would prevent him from allowing any aggression on the territories of his neighbour, and our near ally." His grace's observations, on any question connected with our military relations, particularly in Peninsular affairs,

must necessarily have obtained the most respectful attention of the house; and in this special case, the whole arrangement of which had been entrusted to him, or rather imposed upon him by ministers, his conduct, forbearance, and firmness were warmly eulogized by Lord Holland and the Marquis of Lansdown.

The death of the Duke of York, which occurred on the 5th of January, 1827, gave to the king an opportunity of conferring upon the great hero of his reign the highest honour—the most suitable appointment that ever could fall within his power to bestow upon him. The nation concurred in the peculiar fitness of such an appointment, a constitutional objection alone was raised against the propriety of his grace retaining his seat in the cabinet. This, however, in his case, was soon abandoned; and the Gazette of the twenty-fourth announced his grace's succession to the Duke of York, as commander in chief of his majesty's forces, and colonel of the first grenadier guards. As the head of a public department in the state, the conduct of the Duke of York had been exemplary, and, upon very many occasions, the Duke of Wellington openly ascribed the excellent condition of the army, and the proud spirit of its officers, to the kind, conciliating, and undeviating attentions of his royal highness to the important duties of his high office. It must not, therefore, be attributed to gratitude only, a motive honourable alike to every human being, when his grace is found presiding at a public meeting, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of erecting a monument to his illustrious predecessor, expressive of the respect entertained by the army for his memory. The objects of the meeting were finally successful; and while the private life of the Duke of York is here unnoticed, as being unconnected with the objects of this memoir, the most unqualified admiration is conscientiously accorded to his zeal, ability, and humanity, as commander in chief. The manner in which the high office was conferred upon the Duke of Wellington, and the warm terms of commendation with which it was accompanied by the king, deserve to be regarded as an example of royal courtesy and gratefulness.

The language here alluded to is the last passage in the general order issued from the Horse-Guards immediately after the decease of the Duke of York, and is to the following effect: — “The king feels, that under the present afflicting circumstances, he cannot more effectually supply the loss which the nation and the army have sustained, than by appointing to the chief command of his majesty’s forces, field-marshal, his grace the Duke of Wellington; the great and distinguished general, who has so often led the armies of the nation to victory and glory; and whose high military renown is blended with the history of Europe.” In testimony of the sincere esteem, which the Duke of Wellington entertained for the conduct of the late Duke of York in his official capacity, it will be sufficient to observe, that he adopted every regulation in force at the Horse-Guards, not permitting any change to be observed by the applicants upon business at that establishment, except the melancholy and irremediable one, the absence of a prince who had long been called by the British army “the soldier’s friend.” When his grace first entered upon the duties of his office, he laboured under severe indisposition, which prevented him from holding a levee before the fourteenth of February. On this occasion, thirty-four general officers were present, and sixty of inferior rank — they were introduced by the aid-de-camp in waiting, not according to their military rank, but agreeably to the numerical order in which their names stood on the list. The visitors were introduced in undress, and the levee was conducted in every respect similar to those of the Duke of York, except that his grace and the aid-de-camp in waiting were in uniform, while the late commander-in-chief had always appeared in his morning dress.

On the seventeenth of February, a stroke of apoplexy terminated the political life of the Earl of Liverpool, then in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His premiership commenced on the ninth of June, 1812, and derived all its lustre, as well as its entire stability, from the achievements and political wisdom of the Duke of Wellington. Lord Liverpool was amiable and virtuous in private life, and the integrity of

his principles imparted a character of rectitude to all his public actions. He had always manifested an aversion to political intrigue; and when the opposition would have flung over him all the infamy and scandal of originating and executing the disgraceful Milan commission, to the astonishment of the public, and delight of his private friends and adherents, he openly disclaimed all knowledge or participation in that transaction, and flung back the odium upon certain public men whose memories it is here unnecessary to criminate. Possessed of no shining talents, he endeavoured to compensate for that deficiency by the most diligent attention to business; and few ministers ever retired from public life with a fairer or more esteemed reputation for honesty and candour. Lord Liverpool was supported by the ablest statesmen, financiers, lawyers, and military characters of the period, and possessed the confidence and personal regard of the Duke of Wellington; and, that his administration was not attended with the enactment of public measures of much more utility and lustre, may be ascribed to the interruption of unanimity amongst its members, produced by the Catholic question, to which Lords Eldon and Liverpool and Mr. Peel were opposed—Mr. Canning and his particular adherents in favour of—and the Duke of Wellington desirous that their claims should be fairly, dispassionately investigated, and finally settled: but as the question was an open one, he did not press his opinion upon the cabinet or the public at this time.

An interregnum of nearly two months followed the retirement of Lord Liverpool; during which, Mr. Canning appears to have been treated with more confidence, by the king, than any other member of the administration. The eloquence, literary attainments, and diplomatic experience of that gentleman are unquestionable; but his political consistency and his whole public life were not such as to secure for him the support of the aristocracy, nor even of the party with which he had acted: they had no objection to co-operate with him as a colleague, but never would have been induced to submit to him as their leader. Mr. Canning's shining abilities drew round him the warm support of the press, and of literary men in every part of the

kingdom, and the monstrous power which they possessed, was heartily contributed to sustain his character, and applaud the judgment of the king, in the selection he had made of a confidential adviser. George IV. was a selfish man, and it is more than probable that his selection of Mr. Canning was connected with the part that individual had acted during the investigation and persecution of the queen, a subject that seemed wholly to engross his majesty: he conceived also, that the well-known abilities of the new minister, added to his possession of the royal favour, would fully enable him to conciliate the principal men in the country, and bind the place-hunters firmly to him. His majesty's calculation was reasonable, and hardly ever known to have failed in a previous instance; but, unfortunately for the favourite whom he adopted, it proved to him a fatal promotion.

If it shall be asked hereafter, why the Duke of Wellington, an experienced diplomatist, one who had undergone the political apprenticeship of secretary for Ireland, and whom the king himself had lauded as the first man in existence, was not consulted; let the answer be—The monarch required a favourite who would bide his bidding, and he never was personally, affectionately, attached to the duke, solely in consequence of the noble independence of his character. Mr. Peel also, possessing a princely fortune, was not likely to submit to the caresses of a royal master; besides, he had already evinced too independent a spirit, and too ardent an admiration of the character of Wellington, to be brought nearer to the person of his majesty. The abilities of Mr. Canning placed him the next, in order of political renown, to these great men, and the king's private feelings decided the choice.

In the cautious attentions which the king bestowed upon the Duke of Wellington, his appointment of high constable of the Tower must not be passed over—it is of a military character, and so connected with the old recollections of our country, that it cannot fail to bestow some additional dignity upon the individual who fills it: on the tenth of March in this year, his grace was formally inaugurated. At an early hour in the morning, the garrison were drawn out to receive

the high constable with the usual honours. The warders were also marshalled in the parade-square of the Tower, and at a quarter before ten o'clock the Marquis of Graham, accompanied by Mr. Marsh, the deputy chamberlain, arrived in his lordship's carriage. At a quarter past ten o'clock the commander-in-chief drove into the parade in his cabriolet, his groom leading his white charger. His grace alighted before he reached the spot where the garrison were drawn up. He was dressed in the uniform of a field-marshal, wearing his star and other orders, and, walking in front of the ranks, to the centre of the square, he was there received by the Marquis of Graham, Major Elrington, and several other distinguished officers. His grace here took from his portfolio three small leather cases, containing his patents of office, which he handed to the Marquis of Graham, by whom they were carried to the governor's house; and in a few minutes he returned, accompanied by all the officers of the Tower, and a warder bearing the keys. The warders formed a circle round his grace the high constable, when Maurice Thomas, Esq. deputy steward, read the letters patent: the first appointing "our beloved councillor and cousin, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, high constable of the Tower of London, with a salary of £1,000 per annum, to commence from the twenty-ninth of December last, and further appointing him to all offices within the said Tower, and all profits arising from such appointment, save and except the appointment of Lieutenant of the Tower:—the second patent, which recited the preambles of the first, appointed the Duke of Wellington the *custos rotulorum* of the hamlets of the Tower, enumerating the places; this appointment is held under an act of Charles II. amended in the 42d of George the Third; by this patent his grace possesses great immunities and privileges, and is invested with a considerable civil jurisdiction, and the amount of the salary exceeds that which he receives as constable of the Tower:—the third patent was that appointing his grace commander-in-chief, which was brought through mistake, and which was read; it was short, and included the preambles of the

former ones, empowering his grace, at any time and place within the British dominions, in case of insurrection, rebellion, or insubordination, to raise, levy, command, and control, any army deemed necessary for the service of the state; it bore the signature of his majesty. The patents being read, his grace retired, and partook of breakfast with the governor; after which, having changed his field-marshal's dress for the undress mourning worn for the late Duke of York, accompanied by Major Elrington, the master of the fort, and Captain Smith, the engineer, he visited the engineer's office, where a model of St. Katharine's dock was submitted to his inspection. The construction of this dock was so immediately connected with the Tower, that it was deemed necessary to submit the plan for the approbation of the constable. His grace next visited the armoury in the Tower, where Mr. Quin was in attendance, and expressed his approbation as to the appearance of the armour, its beauty and exquisite finish, and contrasted it with present warlike costume. His grace then proceeded to the barracks, after which he returned to the governor's house, from whence he departed.

This high office is held by patent, and, being totally unconnected with political changes, might have been accepted by the duke, without any sacrifice of feeling, as one of those rewards which he might justly claim from his country.

The period had now arrived, when the vacancy created by Lord Liverpool's death was to be filled up; and, to the surprise of those who had so often heard King George IV. declare his hostility to the admission of Roman Catholics to power, the most eloquent of their advocates was made prime minister of England. It was on the tenth of April that the king had laid his commands upon Mr. Canning to form a working cabinet, under the impression that he would receive the support of a majority of his late colleagues; but the vision was soon dissipated, for, in less than eight and forty hours, no less than seven of the leading members of that administration tendered their resignations *simul ac semel*. Proceeding to St. James's on the twelfth, Mr. Canning laid the seven letters of the

supposed combinators before the king, who still further encouraged the premier-elect, by holding forth his hand to him to kiss—the form of confirmation at our court. When Mr. Canning first addressed his late colleagues, Lord Bexley sent in his adhesion, but subsequently withdrew it: his lordship again negotiated, apologized, and finally accepted the sinecure of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The reply of Lord Westmorland was the second received; in which his lordship declined giving a decided answer, until he should be informed who was to be the new premier. The answers of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Earls of Eldon, and Bathurst, and Lord Melville, were all similar in effect. No question could have been more natural, it was the point which ought to have been stated first in any such communication; and, if the charge of conspiracy or faction rested on this coincidence solely, it would not be deserving of the least attention. Mr. Canning immediately apologized for the inadvertence, and informed the writers that he had been the individual chosen by the king to fill that office. This communication produced a general reply, embodying the opinions of the majority of the late ministers, which were, that in a cabinet so constituted as Mr. Canning proposed, questions must arise calculated to produce collisions painful to the feelings of individuals immediately concerned, and likely to be injurious to the public service; and upon this ground, the writers begged his majesty's leave to resign. Mr. Peel's reply differed from those of his co-adjutors, being simply that he preferred to retire from office. While the press clamoured loudly against the seceders, accusing them of personal enmity to the premier, Mr. Peel waited on the new minister, assured him that personality formed no part of his reasons for retiring, further than his own unbiassed inclination, which alone he had consulted. This minister's retirement produced very general regret through the country; while that of Lord Eldon excited the indignation of the press, both of whig and tory principles.

Amongst the eminent men whom Mr. Canning's administration brought forward, was Sir John Copley, now created Lord

Lyndhurst, and raised to the chancellorship of England ; and John Henry North, an Irish barrister of great promise, whose early death disappointed the high hopes of a large circle of admirers. Mr. Brougham was offered the mastership of the rolls, but this distinguished advocate replied—"that if he left the *commons* for the sake of the *rolls*, he should be without *post-horses* to carry him the rest of the way." The learned lawyer had no desire to join this administration, although the Marquis of Lansdowne, and other distinguished whigs, personally unacquainted with Mr. Canning, and not wholly approving of his politics, were induced ultimately to support him. The principal appointments of an unexpected character, were those of the Duke of Clarence, to be lord high admiral ; Lord Palmerston, to be secretary at war ; and of Mr. Huskisson, to the board of trade. The Marquis of Anglesea, with the universal approbation of all parties, succeeded to the master-generalship of the ordnance.

That Mr. Canning had much misgiving as to the formation of a firm administration, from the first moment that the cup of promise was held to his lip, no doubt can be entertained. Having, on the first of March, brought forward his resolutions on the corn-laws, upon his return home he felt much overcome ; and, that his malady was mental, his letter to Sir W. Knighton, clearly proves—"The only ill effect of my attendance in the House of Commons, on Thursday," writes the minister, "was a sleepless night, a grievance which I do not remember ever to have experienced to the same degree before. I was not feverish, I was not exhausted, I was not even tired, I can generally get to sleep, putting aside whatever is upon my mind, but on Thursday night I could not. I felt as if every limb, from top to toe, was alive like an eel ; and I lay all night, not tossing or tumbling, but as broad awake as if it were mid-day." This measure was carried through the Commons, but was finally lost in the Lords, where, through the interruption given to it by the Duke of Wellington, Canning's fortunes were completely wrecked. It was in vain that his majesty endeavoured to detach his grace from the party with

which he had acted; the noble hero had taken up a position, and was resolved to defend it with honour, if not with success; and to Mr. Canning's proposal, that his grace should retain the commandership-in-chief, unconnected with the cabinet, as his predecessor had done, he replied, "that he did not feel himself able to follow the example of his lamented predecessor in this particular instance."

The situation of his majesty was little less painful than that of the minister,—his bodily health had been declining, and the tenure of life was prolonged by the employment and assistance of the best medical skill to be procured in this great kingdom. While labouring under the most acute suffering, the situation of the country pressed heavily on his mind, as is obvious from the following extract from a letter dated sixth of April, to Sir W. Knighton: "It is true, I am jaded and quite worn out, and writing from my bed, where I have lain down for a little rest. Little or no advance, I regret to say, has been made, amidst perhaps *unavoidable perplexities*."

The second of May, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, was also the day of trial and exposition of ministers and their opponents. The changes that had taken place since last they met, were indicated by each member's position; and place, power, and politics seemed to have caused such revolution, as made men shudder at the idea of reposing confidence in each other in future. Lord Lyndhurst occupied the woolsack; Mr. Robinson was called to the upper house, by the title of Viscount Goderich; and Sir C. Abbott as Lord Tenterden; while Lords Bexley, Lansdowne, Kenyon, and Holland, sat on the ministerial benches.

Earl Grosvenor, (afterwards Marquis of Westminster), commenced the proceedings by the presentation of two petitions in favour of Catholic emancipation; to which, he said, Mr. Canning's administration was more favourable than Lord Liverpool's, although it had not been made a cabinet question. Of this he did not mean to complain, because he thought it would even then be premature to press the question upon the country. These few words, introduced to screen the new



Drawn by T. Woolnoth

Engraved by J. Woolnoth

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, BARON LYNDHURST.

Lyndhurst

ministry from the charge of having thrown the Roman Catholics overboard, were promptly noticed by Lord Ellenborough, who said, "that the speech just delivered was kindly volunteered, but was completely irregular; besides, his own opinion was, that under such an administration as Mr. Canning had then constructed, there never would be any opportunity of discussing the question of Catholic emancipation with advantage. However important that question might be, his lordship conceived that there was another of paramount importance, as it applied to the country at large, that then called the attention of that house. Since the house had last separated, said his lordship, a reconstruction of the government had taken place. On what principles, or whether in the absence of all principles, he could not pretend to say; but that it had not taken place on principles calculated to give stability to the new administration, no one who looked at the opposite benches could deny. It appeared that individuals who had resigned office, for having done so were grossly assailed, and charged with having acted in a spirit of unconstitutional dictation to the sovereign, as to the choice of ministers. It was due, he thought, to the unblemished characters of those noble persons, to allow them the first opportunity that presented itself, of stating publicly the circumstances attending their resignation."

The first of the supposed conspirators who rose to reply, was the Earl of Eldon:—"That he should be supposed to have been guilty," said the venerable and learned judge, "after having sustained all the principles he had so undeniably sustained, through evil and through good report, of yielding to a doctrine so unconstitutional, as to affect to dictate to his sovereign who should have the government of the country, subject to that control which belonged to both houses of parliament, constituted as the parliament of this country was, was a circumstance that he would never hear stated, as far as regarded himself, without declaring that it was a base and scandalous falsehood. On the other hand, he would say, that he had a right, for the sake of his sovereign's safety, whom he had so long served in dutiful attention to him, and to the

memory of his father, whom he had also so long served, that he never disguised from him any opinion he ever entertained on any subject submitted to his consideration." He spoke in the presence of many who knew that for years past it had been a question with him whether he ought to resign or not. And when the circumstance of this change took place, the question with him was, not whether he should maintain a purpose of resignation, but whether he should fulfil that purpose, which for some years past he had expressed. Meaning to resign, if an administration of principles similar to his own had been formed, could it be supposed that he ought not to have resigned when an administration had been formed—as they had been told, though he did not know whether it had or not—of perfectly different principles. With respect to the Catholic question, his opinion was, *that the decision of a question so important should not be deferred*. He had, certainly, hitherto, been one of those most anxious to oppose the bringing forward of this question, but he now was clearly of opinion, that the time had come when it should and ought to be brought forward. His lordship denied most solemnly, before his God, that he had acted in concert with any man; and declared that he had not even seen their communications. The reputation which Lord Eldon has left behind, even as a man of honour, would be in itself sufficient to satisfy posterity, that if any conspiracy had existed against the promotion of Mr. Canning, he, at least, was guiltless of any participation in it. But he was not the individual against whom popular indignation was levelled at this period, and on this extraordinary and groundless complaint; the Duke of Wellington was looked on as the arch-conspirator, the Pierre, the Catiline (Brutus would have been too sacred a name) of the plot; the attraction of his renown, the power of his personal influence, had swayed and warped the judgment of the late ministers of the crown, and led them to the commission of a grave offence, the desertion of their sovereign. And this they were supposed to have done from a personal dislike of the new premier; and that dislike was attributed to that statesman's too liberal principles, and his too great leaning to the people's cause.

As Mr. Canning indubitably did fall a victim to the persecution of his political enemies, and as the Duke of Wellington was one amongst that party, it is very material to his grace's character, that the part he acted should be fairly examined. It is not denied that he was politically opposed to the new premier; it is not asserted that he entertained any strong personal regard for him; circumstances had occurred, which, probably, had contributed to interrupt any close or warm intercourse of friendship between them. It is known that the Marquis of Londonderry was the intimate friend and early companion of the duke, and that his grace had lost no opportunity, declined no duty, however difficult, during his eventful military life, to maintain his friend in power and place, and none can be so weak as to imagine that Lord Londonderry's tenure of office would have endured so long, had it not been secured by the influence, advice, and co-operation of the greatest general and diplomatist of the age. Now, Mr. Canning himself, a man of rare and shining talents, had always entertained a mean opinion of Lord Londonderry's abilities, and this single circumstance was in itself sufficient to prevent the formation of anything like friendship between that eminent man and the Duke of Wellington. When, therefore, his grace is charged with coldness, with want of generosity, with heartlessness towards a man, who had acquired a high degree of popular admiration, it should be remembered, that his grace never had enjoyed that individual's private friendship; and it will be seen that the illustrious duke only employed the same weapons to wound, the same lever to remove Mr. Canning from his high office, which he employed against Mr. Huskisson subsequently; and which have always been looked upon as perfectly legitimate in political warfare. If Mr. Canning was cruelly opposed, vindictively assailed, and heartlessly persecuted, during his brief tenure of the highest office in these kingdoms, it will be found that no part of the inhumanity belongs to the Duke of Wellington. It was by his own earlier associates; it was by the liberal party, that he was so painfully taunted; and it was under the unkindness

of the blows from his quondam friends that the popular minister finally fell.

In his defence before the house of lords, on the second of May, the duke explained the foundation of his conduct in declining to form part of an administration, of which Mr. Canning was to be the head ; and the impression which that explanation produced was so effective, that none was afterwards found in that assembly, either so bold, or so bigoted, as to require further exposition. His grace commenced by acknowledging the undoubted prerogative of the crown to choose its own ministers, and to change them, too, whenever it was the monarch's pleasure ; and under that feeling he certainly should not have risen to make allusion to the recent change of ministers, were it not for the manner in which he had been treated by *the corrupt press in the pay of the government*. He complained that he had been accused, in these transactions, of conspiracy, combination, dictation to his sovereign, and nearly every crime short of high treason, of which a subject could be guilty ; and he thought he should be more than man, if he resisted availing himself of the opportunity of justifying himself, which Lord Grosvenor's motion afforded. His conduct had been called in question—first, on account of his quitting the cabinet ; secondly, as regarded his resignation of the command of the army. He did not consider himself at liberty to reveal any conversation he had held with the king, or what had passed in council ; but he thought he could elucidate his conduct without any such disclosures. His grace here read to the house Mr. Canning's letter of the tenth of April, stating that the king had signified to him his commands to submit a plan of arrangements for the reconstruction of the administration ; and Mr. Canning's opinion—"how essentially the accomplishment must depend upon his grace's continuing a member of the cabinet." This letter did not name the proposed members of the new administration, who was to be the head, nor assign any precise office to his grace. Anxiously desirous to serve his majesty as he had previously done, *with the same colleagues*, his grace replied, by requesting to be

informed who it was intended to propose to the king, as head of the government. The duke's letter was submitted to the king; after which Mr. Canning informed his grace that "it was generally understood that the king usually entrusted the formation of an administration to the individual whom it was his majesty's gracious intention to place at the head of it; that it did not once occur to him to say, that in this instance his majesty did not intend to depart from the usual course of proceeding on such occasions." This explanation betraying a tone and a temper that evidenced the unfitness of the writer to enter the thorny field of negotiation with the veteran chief, confirmed the impression made upon him by the first cold invitation—namely, that Mr. Canning would not regret the total secession of the duke from office. Not permitting the style of the premier's correspondence to influence that of his replies, the duke returned the following answer, containing his resignation of all further connexion with his majesty's councils—"London, eleventh of April, 1827: I have received your letter of this day, and I did not understand your's of yesterday evening as you have now explained it to me. *I understood from yourself*, that you had in contemplation another arrangement; and I do not believe that the practice to which you refer has been so invariable, as to enable me to affix a meaning to your letter, which its words did not, in my opinion, convey. I trust you will experience no inconvenience from the delay of this answer, which, I assure you, has been occasioned by my desire to discover a mode by which I could continue united with my recent colleagues. I sincerely wish that I could bring my mind to the conclusion that, with the best intentions on your part, your government could be conducted practically on the principles of that of Lord Liverpool; that it would be generally so considered, or that it would be adequate to meet our difficulties in a manner satisfactory to the king, or conducive to the interests of the country. As, however, I am convinced that these principles must be abandoned eventually; that all our measures would be viewed with suspicion by the usual supporters of the government; that I could do no good in the

cabinet; and that at last I should be obliged to separate myself from it, at the moment at which such separation would be more inconvenient to the king's service than it can be at present—I must beg you to request his majesty to excuse me from belonging to his councils.”

His grace next proceeded to investigate the charges made against him by the press; and, in defending himself against the calumnies that had been put forward, he became so excited as to lose that control over his thoughts and language which is so indispensably necessary to a public speaker—and for which he had been so conspicuous in his written correspondence—as to declare himself unfit to hold the office of first minister of the crown, from the peculiar character of his previous life. In the whole of that remarkable passage, his grace laboured under a delusion, except that part in which he alluded to his want of experience as a debater—which the passage itself fully illustrated. It has been attempted to explain this extraordinary representation of his own incompetence to fill that situation which he subsequently filled with such dignity and honour, on the ground of his excessive and well-known modesty of character; but, giving this argument its full value, it seems still more probable that it is to the excitement of the occasion, the irritation produced by the virulence of the press, his desire to contradict, in the most direct and positive terms, the impeachment of that class of assailants, together with his want of familiarity with the habit of debate, that his grace's assertion of his political inability is to be attributed: for it is absurd to suppose that so great and comprehensive a mind could have been so unacquainted with the magnitude of its powers. As the passage formed subsequently, and at no very distant moment, another ground of attack from the press, and was seized on, and reiterated, with sounds of triumph, by his grace's parliamentary adversaries, it is the duty of an impartial biographer to submit it unaltered, and permit the explanation and the charge to be dispassionately compared. “I am accused,” said his grace, “of having deserted and abandoned my sovereign. I have always considered that the most

important of all acts which the sovereign of this country has to perform, is the choice of his ministers; and most particularly the selection of that person who is to fill the office of first minister. In making this choice, the sovereign determines upon what principles of policy his domestic government or his foreign relations are to be conducted; and he chooses the men to administer his government whose opinions are consistent with those, according to which he has decided that the policy of the government shall be guided. I will now apply this principle to the case which has recently occurred; and I will suppose that his majesty has selected a gentleman to be his first minister, who differs in opinion from him upon one important question of domestic policy, such as the question of further concession to the Roman Catholics; and that I, being called to his majesty's councils, agree in opinion with the king, but differ from his minister. In these cases there can be no secret understandings in this country,—men must act openly and fairly, whether in parliament or in the cabinet. The king and the country would look to me, and to those in the cabinet who should entertain opinions similar to mine, that the acts of the government should be consistent with its professed policy: whereas I should find those acts daily leading to a different result. I will refer your lordships to what Mr. Canning said on a former occasion, of the nature of a preponderating influence of a first minister in such questions, and particularly in this question of domestic policy; and I wish you to observe the arguments of Lord Grosvenor, (first Marquis of Westminster) at the commencement of this discussion, which had for their object to prove that nothing ought to be done by this house or the public, on the Roman Catholic question, at the *present moment*, because the concession of everything was certain, in consequence only of the nomination of Mr. Canning as first minister. Adverting to this part of the subject, I would suggest to the house an important distinction between Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning. The object of Lord Liverpool's policy was, not to take anything from the Roman Catholics, but to govern the country fairly and impartially, according to the

existing laws. That of his successor (who is the most able and active of all the partisans of his side of the question) is, to make an important alteration of the laws. The action of the two systems cannot be compared. Lord Liverpool might act impartially, and, composed as his cabinet was, he was under the necessity of so acting, even if it could be supposed that his desire was to act otherwise. But the influence of Mr. Canning's government must have the effect, even if not so desired by him, of forwarding his own opinions and views of policy, notwithstanding his profession of adherence to the policy of Lord Liverpool's government. How was it possible for me to go into the cabinet, and give the new premier that fair confidence and support, which, as head of the government, he would have had a right to claim from me, when I knew that the necessary result of his system must be, to bring the government to that state, which I think, and which the king is supposed to think, one of peril? His majesty thought proper to appoint Mr. Canning to be his minister, and I had no resource but to withdraw.

“It has been stated that I withdrew myself because the king would not submit to my dictation, and *threats* in case I should not myself be appointed his minister; and this accusation is most curiously coupled with another, namely, that his majesty offered to make me his minister, and that I refused. Those know little of the king who suppose that any man can dare to dictate to him, much less to threaten him. The king never offered to make me his minister. He knew as well as I did, that I was, and must be, totally out of the question; and I so considered myself, and so stated myself repeatedly; and I was no party to any suggestion that I should be the person to fill the vacancy occasioned by the misfortune which we all deplore. Do you suppose that, having raised myself to the highest rank in the profession which I had previously followed from my youth—that having been appointed to the highest situation in that profession—for I may say I raised myself, without indicating any desire to underrate the obligations to my noble, gallant friends, the

general officers of the army, by whom I am surrounded, and still less those which I owe the king, for his most gracious favour and kindness—I may safely say, that his majesty could not have placed me where I was, if I had not rendered some service to the state deserving his approbation;—I say, that having raised myself to such a station, in my profession, I could not be desirous of leaving it, in order to seek to be appointed to be the head of the government, a situation *for which I am sensible that I am not qualified*; and to which, moreover, neither the king, nor Mr. Canning, nor any, wished to see me called? Do you think it possible, that I was not gratified by being restored to my old relations of command over my old friends and companions; and to have attained the power of recommending them to the crown for the professional rewards of their services, after having passed my life in exciting and directing their exertions? Does any man believe that I would resign such gratification, in order to be appointed to a station, to the duties of which I was unaccustomed; in which I was not wished; and for which I was not qualified; as it must be obvious to the house, that, not being in the habit of addressing it, I should have been found, besides other disqualifications, incapable of displaying, as they ought to be displayed, or of defending the measures of government as they ought to be defended in this house, by the person thus honoured by his majesty's confidence? My lords, *I should have been worse than mad, if I had thought of such a thing*. Thus it has been said, that I endeavoured to attain this object by means of concert, conspiracy, and combination with others. I assert, that till I wrote that letter to Mr. Canning, dated the eleventh of April, and which I have read to the house, no man knew what line I intended to follow. If I concerted, combined, and conspired with any one, let it be said with whom.

“There were thirteen of us in the cabinet; the hand of Providence had deprived us of one, and there are six, including the new premier himself, still remaining in the cabinet. Has the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, who resigned, but

was afterwards induced to accept office, heard of anything like conspiracy, or those other crimes with which we have been charged? If he has, I beg of him to inform the house of the facts; if he has not, and I know he has not, I call upon any man to come forward; and, if he knows that such conspiracy or combination existed, I will engage to prove that it is false that I ever was a party to such." His grace then alluded to his resignation of the command of the army, and read to the house a copy of the letter which he had addressed to the king on that occasion, from which we make the following extract: "I have frequently had occasion to express to your majesty my most grateful acknowledgments for your majesty's most gracious favour and kindness towards me; and your majesty can now more easily conceive than I can express, the pain and grief which I feel upon requesting your majesty to excuse me from attendance on your majesty's councils; and in consequence thereof, and in adverting to the tenor of the letter which I have received from your majesty's minister by your majesty's command, upon asking your majesty's permission to lay at your feet those offices which connect me with your majesty's government."

Having read this humble, dutiful, loyal address to his sovereign, as opposite in spirit to dictation or to menace, as mildness to ferocity, the duke proceeded in his explanation. "I held two offices under government, that of commander-in-chief, and master-general of the ordnance; and having declared to Mr. Canning, that I could not serve in a cabinet presided over by him, the latter of course became vacant. I might have retained the office of commander-in-chief; my illustrious predecessor had done so, and I should have followed his example in this respect, as I had endeavoured to do in others. Indeed, I never could see any reason why political differences of opinion should prevent me from commanding the army at the Horse-Guards, more than they would an army in the field, if circumstances should render it necessary so to employ my services. But besides political circumstances, the tone and temper of Mr. Canning's letter of the eleventh, which the

king had seen, were of a nature to make it impossible for me to retain the command of the army. The commander-in-chief must necessarily be daily in confidential relation with the monarch, on all points of the service: he must likewise be so with the first minister, respecting military allowances and expenses. The reinforcement of the army in Portugal, or of troops in any of his majesty's possessions, abroad or at home, must be a matter of concert between the premier and the commander-in-chief. How was it possible for me to consider that I was likely to possess Mr. Canning's confidence, on any of those points, after receiving from him, in his majesty's name, such a rebuke as was contained in his letter to me of the eleventh of April. Mr. Canning's friends assert that my letter of the tenth contained cause of offence, and provoked the answer. My letter only asked for information upon a single point, expressed in the usual terms of my correspondence with Mr. Canning, and conveyed my desire to remain in the cabinet with my late colleagues.

"I must here inform your lordships, that in a communication which I had held with Mr. Canning on the second of April, he had explained to me, that in case his majesty should commission him to suggest arrangements for the reconstruction of the administration, the plan which he had in contemplation was, to propose that the late chancellor of the exchequer should be called to the house of lords, and be made first lord of the treasury; and had Mr. Canning's answer to my letter of the tenth informed me that he still had that plan in contemplation, it was my intention to suggest to him, and to endeavour to persuade him, to adopt one better calculated, in my opinion, to keep the government united. The question asked, therefore, in my letter of the tenth, was fully justified, and fairly founded on a communication made to me on the second by Mr. Canning himself.

"The question contained in my letter was also justified by former practice. In 1812, the Marquis Wellesley received the commands of the regent to construct an administration, including Lords Grey and Grenville; and, in the negotiation which took place, he went so far as to say, that he neither

claimed nor desired for himself any share in the administration. And upon that same occasion, Mr. Canning apprised Lord Liverpool, on the part of the Marquis Wellesley, that the regent had laid these commands upon the marquis. In the same way, the Earl of Moira had received instructions from the regent to form an administration; but it does not appear that those individuals to whom he addressed himself, considered that they were to have been at the head of the administration which they had the commission to form. In addressing the house on the twelfth of June, Lord Moira said, "I came to the subject unfettered in every way; not an individual was named for a seal; and no place was pointed out, *even for myself*." How could I then take it for granted that his majesty had nominated Mr. Canning to be his first minister, only because that gentleman had informed me that the king had desired him to submit a plan for the reconstruction of the ministry? How could I answer his proposition, that I should be one of the cabinet, till I should ascertain who was to be prime minister? And the necessity for ascertaining this point, was my only motive for asking the question.

"I will now show from the best authority possible—that of Mr. Canning himself—that the question might have been asked without offence. On the — of May, 1812, Mr. Perceval having then been assassinated, Lord Liverpool waited on Mr. Canning, by command of the prince-regent, to invite him to become a member of the councils of the state. The first question asked by Mr. Canning, as appears from a memorandum drawn up by himself, was, "Who is to be the first lord of the treasury?" and it does not appear that his lordship rebuked him for asking the question. That negotiation failed, for this amongst other reasons, that Mr. Canning thought that the influence of the head of the government was likely to be paramount in the discussion of the Roman Catholic question. Surely then I could not merit a rebuke for having asked Mr. Canning the same question in 1827, which he, under nearly similar circumstances, asked Lord Liverpool in 1812.

“There is another view of the case, very material to my explanation. Although I was rebuked on the eleventh, for having asked the question on the tenth, and was told that the king did not intend to depart from the usual practice, the fact is, that Mr. Canning was not appointed his majesty’s minister until the twelfth, according to his own statement elsewhere; — indeed, it appeared to me, that until he had laid my letter of the tenth before his majesty, he had not been appointed his minister. If he had, he might, without reference to the king, have stated the fact with as much of rebuke as he might think proper to use. I cannot believe that he laid the letter and answer before his majesty, in order to cover the rebuke which his answer contained, with his majesty’s sacred name and protection. I say it unfeignedly, that I believe he is as incapable of doing so as I believe I am myself. The conclusion therefore is obvious, the letters must necessarily have been laid before the king, because, in fact, Mr. Canning was not his majesty’s minister when he received my question.

“Finally, I considered, upon receiving the communication dated the eleventh, that my situation, in relation both to the king and his ministers, was so altered, that I could neither continue in the cabinet, nor in command of the army, with advantage to his majesty’s service. If I was hasty in coming to that decision, or the decision was founded in error, I ought to have been informed. I had always been on the best terms of good-will and confidence with all my colleagues; and I believe there was nobody who enjoyed more of the confidence, even of the new premier himself, than I did. I would appeal to the ministers then present, whether I ever made difficulties, or ever acted otherwise, than with a view to accommodate differences of opinion. If, then, I took a hasty or intemperate view of this case, why did they not come forward, and render me that service, which I had, more than once, rendered to others, by representing to me that I was wrong? Such a step has never been taken by them; and the reason is obvious, it did not suit the minister’s views, that I should remain in command of the army, unless I should belong to his cabinet.

In this exposition, his grace employed an expression, upon which the opposition within the parliament, and the portion of the press embarked in unceasing hostility to the high-church party without, fastened with an eagerness never exceeded on any similar occasion. They protested, that henceforward they should claim the right of excluding the duke from the highest political office, for that his own testimony, as to his unfitness, was conclusive. It is, however, not the principle or practice of English law, to extract or employ the criminal's evidence against himself, so that the privilege conceded to the perpetrators of *majora crimina*, was denied to this illustrious nobleman. It was wholly forgotten, that this grand impeachment admitted of an interpretation directly contrary to that affixed to it by his clamorous adversaries, for that, if it went to demonstrate any fact, it was solely and individually the extraordinary modesty of the great man. But the objectionable term was not employed for any such purpose, nor with any such object, however amiable.—His grace did not intend, in the approaching change of ministers, to present himself as a candidate for the premiership, but had actually recommended to Mr. Canning one whom he thought most competent for the arduous duties; and so great was the calumny, so much did the honest soldier feel the insult offered to his character by the coarse accusation, that he repelled it, not in the usual language of debate, but in that of excitement and irritation.

The first who hastened to express his willing belief in the statements of the duke, was Lord Bexley, who added to his brief acknowledgment of respect, an explanation of his own conduct in accepting any office in the new administration. He said, he had at first declined to form part of Mr. Canning's government, because he considered that the same latitude would not be given to the members of the new cabinet with respect to the Catholic question, which had been enjoyed by those who constituted Lord Liverpool's ministry. Having found that he was mistaken on this point, and that Mr. Canning did not intend to give to that embarrassing question any ministerial support, but that he would permit it to remain

as the late premier had done, he retraced his steps, and gave in his adhesion.

It was the conviction of Lord Mansfield, that the advocates of the Protestant cause had acted with too much reserve, both to each other and to the country; for he felt confident, that had they communicated more freely with their adherents in the country, they would have been so ably backed, that the king would have been able to form an administration in which Protestant principles should have decidedly predominated. He gave them full credit for honourable conduct, but doubted their judgment in the manner in which they had retired; this doubt, however, produced no diminution of his respect for his grace, or the noble lord who had quitted the woolsack. Their long and distinguished services could never be remembered otherwise than with gratitude. Ungrateful indeed must the country be, if it could ever cease to recollect, that its present pre-eminence was more owing to the noble duke, than to any individual that could be named. His lordship proceeded to shew in a speech of considerable ingenuity, that the king did not wish for a divided cabinet on any question, much less that of Catholic emancipation; and, therefore, that the appointment of one in which those principles predominated, must have been the result of undue influence exercised over the royal judgment. He alluded to the rapidity with which the new premier, when disappointed in one quarter, turned to another — to his junction with the whigs at the very moment that he parted from his tory friends; which illustrated happily a passage in the *Anti-jacobin*: “A sudden thought strikes me: let us swear eternal friendship.” The coalition had been described as unprecedented and unnatural; he allowed the former part of the imputation, but denied the applicability of the latter; for he had marked the progress of circumstances for some previous length of time, and thought the recent union natural, justifiable, and not so sudden as the public were led to imagine. Leaving this junction to work its way, he said there was one great point to which he was anxious to call their lordships’ attention; that was, the Catholic question. That

measure had been proposed in the house of commons, although withdrawn from that of the lords; and he understood it was not the intention of Mr. Canning to introduce it at that time. The Catholics of Ireland were advised, and their priests would repeat the advice, to observe for the present a morbid and lethargic stillness, "to seem like the flower, but be the serpent under it." But were they weak enough to suppose that the friends of the constitution would wait for the time when it might be the pleasure of the other party to assail its best safeguard? They could not wait until the new premier might have it in his power to introduce into that house men able to enforce his measures, and give the weight of their support to his opinions. He therefore feared that he should be compelled to submit to the house a motion, the object of which would be, to call for an expression of their opinion upon the subject of Catholic emancipation, in the most explicit manner. On the fourth of June, he should propose a resolution in favour of Catholic emancipation, to the fullest extent that any such resolution had ever been carried; or, if that were not agreed to, would move the house for an address to his majesty, to elicit a declaration from the crown of a contrary tendency; such as is befitting a Protestant parliament to suggest—such as no king since James II. had ever been advised to refuse; yet such as Mr. Canning, if he continued to hold office, must advise the king to refuse.

Amongst the individuals elevated to the peerage for the purpose of sustaining the Canning cabinet, was Mr. Frederick Robinson, who rose, after Lord Mansfield, to address that house of parliament for the first time, as Viscount Goderich. His lordship avowed, at the opening of his reply, the utmost respect and regard for the members of the late ministry, and his regret at the separation which had taken place between him and those with whom he had felt a pride in having acted, not as his colleagues, but his friends. He premised, however, that the retirement of some of the members of the late administration from office, upon the appointment of Mr. Canning, was not explicable upon reasonable grounds, as the principle of Lord

Liverpool's government was not one of perpetual exclusion towards any body of men in this country; for, had it been so, neither Mr. Canning nor himself could ever have taken any part in it. As to the late secretary for the home department, his scruples were capable of being accounted for, as they were only in strict consistency with the entire tenor of his previous public conduct. His lordship, in the same incautious manner as that into which the Duke of Wellington had lapsed, alluding to a report then prevalent, that he had aspired to the premiership, rejected the accusation with equal warmth; and what renders the coincidence still more remarkable is, that his lordship and the illustrious duke, both, subsequently accepted and discharged the duties of this very office. It has been stated, said Lord Goderich, that it was at one time intended to propose to the king to place the individual who now addresses you at the head of the government; this would have been to me an honour as unexpected as unmerited — an honour and a responsibility, which (high as they are) *no consideration on earth could have tempted me to undertake*, except the hope that I might thereby be made the instrument of keeping together the constituent elements of an administration, which has been so unhappily dispersed. But the proposition is one I never heard of until I entered this house, and I am therefore in no degree responsible for it, as it is a plan of which I had no knowledge. I have nothing to do with the consequences which may be supposed to have resulted from its not having been put into execution. The Duke of Wellington and his friends, who have seceded, complain of having been assailed by the basest misrepresentation and calumny. Whatever that calumny may be which they have endured, I can declare with the utmost sincerity that it finds no responsive feeling in my mind — of such attacks I can neither be a patron nor a partisan. When it is added, that the press has been under the influence of government, in the attacks made upon the Duke of Wellington; I take leave to deny the assertion in the most distinct and unqualified manner; and I have little hesitation in expressing my opinion, that the press is an engine far too powerful and too independent to

be enslaved or corrupted by any government. I regret the secession of my friends, from the bottom of my heart; but I impugn not the integrity of their motives. I do not impute to them confederacy or faction; I cannot bring myself to believe it possible, and do not therefore impute to them concert or conspiracy. I believe that difficulties and differences arose out of an unusual case, and that the separation which I lament, is attributable to want of sufficient concert and communication. I adhered to Mr. Canning's administration, because I felt that I should obey his majesty's commands; and because I felt that an administration which had subsisted for fifteen years, and which had been formed on the basis of leaving the Catholic question one of neutrality, open to each individual of the ministry to form his own judgment upon, had proved beneficial to the country. I saw no reason to doubt, that if the administration, though it had lost its leader, remained united as heretofore, it might continue to prove equally popular, and advance the interests of the country, while it secured the confidence of the sovereign. Entertaining no feeling repugnant to the acceptance of office under Mr. Canning, I felt that it would be equally base and inconsistent in me to make my consent contingent upon the acceptance or rejection of office by other members of the late cabinet, who, taking a different view of circumstances from myself, could offer no reasons for retiring, in which I could concur. Their objection that the new premier was favourable to the Catholic claims, was no objection whatever; and it was impossible, therefore, that I could make common cause with them. Neither the king nor Mr. Canning had any other alternative than to act as they have done; for the anti-catholic party had refused to form an administration founded on their own principles, and declined to become part of a cabinet whose doctrine was neutrality. Lord Mansfield has declared, in terms of indignation, that he had looked upon the conduct of government, for some years back, with suspicion, because they had conciliated, in that period, persons professing opinions to which they had been formerly opposed. I at once perceived that his lordship

alluded to those measures of internal policy introduced by me, and which led to so much discussion in both houses of parliament. If those measures be erroneous or mischievous, I alone am culpable, *adsum qui feci*; let not the cause of their origin be thrown upon individuals who are not the authors. As to their enactment, however—that is attributable to the united councils of government, every member of which acquiesced in their adoption, and is as responsible for the act as the individual with whom they originated. As to myself, I have no object of personal ambition to gratify, and my conscience tells me, that my aim has solely been, the promotion of the honour of my king, and the happiness of his people.”

As a personal explanation of innocency of motives, the speech of Lord Goderich may be readily accepted; and as a complete exculpation of the Wellington party, from the calumnious charges brought against them, it is important; one fact, however, must be observed, that is, his allusion to personal feeling towards Mr. Canning, as the real but concealed ground of objection by some of the seceders, for their retirement from office. As far as the Duke of Wellington is concerned, it is not denied that he certainly did appear altogether disinclined to act *under* the new premier; but, it should be remembered, also, that from the line of politics each had adopted in their previous career, his grace joining such an administration, would have been more extraordinary than his selecting the part he ultimately chose.

It was now the duty of Earl Bathurst to assert his innocence, which he did with much simplicity and clearness. He stated, that so many of his late colleagues had retired, that he felt no inclination to join the new cabinet; and that, as but three of that cabinet were opponents of the Catholic claims, the principle of the government could not be the same as that of Lord Liverpool. He would have had no objection to have become the colleague of Lords Lyndhurst, and Bexley, and the Marquis of Anglesea, for the last of whom he entertained great personal regard, had not so many of his former colleagues refused their adhesion. He confessed that the coincidence in the tendering

of their resignations by his late colleagues and himself, was remarkable ; but he believed, after the explanation of the Duke of Wellington and his friends, that no doubt existed of its having been purely accidental.—The Earl of Westmorland justly rebuked the favourers of the calumny, and attributers of cabal to the duke's party, by stating, that it was unfortunate for the treasury bench, there had not been something more approaching to cabal, because it was on that account that the charge came on every man by surprise. With respect to the imputed attack on the royal prerogative, who could possibly doubt it? the charge against the late ministers on that head was frivolous and contemptible ; but the attempt to prove that every man was bound to join a government when called upon, was arbitrary and senseless. Did it form part of the king's prerogative to compel acquiescence, and to serve even under a reformer or a democrat? When Mr. Fox, the Duke of Portland, and other distinguished men, thought proper to abandon Lord Shelbourne, was that an attack on the king's prerogative? When the Marquis Wellesley was commanded, in 1812, to construct an administration, was Lord Liverpool's refusal to serve under him an attack on the royal prerogative? Was Mr. Canning guilty of this heinous offence when he acted similarly in 1809 and 1820? It was the undoubted right of every public man to judge of a government for himself, and he had disconnected himself from the ministry when he became convinced, that the continuance of his services would be no longer beneficial either to his king or country.—The Marquis of Camden, the generosity and munificence of whose character are now matter of history, placed the question in its true and real light ; he thought the imputation of cabal, thrown upon the duke's party, did not arise from combination amongst those persons, but from the want of that ordinary intercourse which ought to have taken place between members of the same government under the circumstances. This inconvenience would not now have arisen, if the late ministers had met and come to a clear understanding upon the disputed points.

The Marquis of Lansdown, who had been induced to join the new cabinet, acquitted the duke of all participation in any thing resembling conspiracy or faction; stated his unacquaintance with Mr. Canning until his recent elevation, and hoped that this single fact would release him from the accusation of having entered into secret intrigue or reprehensible machination. He had accepted office under Mr. Canning, because he agreed with him upon great questions of policy, upon the necessity of this country recognizing the independence of those states, in South America, which were then freeing themselves from their bondage, and casting aside the fetters which had been riveted upon them for centuries; and when he saw a skilful hand had succeeded in smoothing the difficulties which stood in the way of that recognition and that connexion — when he saw a wide field opened for commercial speculation, and the exertion of national industry — a difference on minor points of policy could not prevent him from feeling, that the individual who had succeeded in conferring such important benefits on the country, had thereby laid the ground of a strong claim upon his advocacy and support.

It is also material to our purpose, and contributory to the firm establishment of the proposition here asserted, namely, that the persecution of Mr. Canning by his political enemies had no connexion with the Duke of Wellington, but that that noble individual offered less hostility to Mr. Canning's ministry, and measures, than other members of parliament, to refer to the very pointed remarks of Lord Ellenborough, upon the assumed merits of the new premier; his lordship said, that while he acknowledged the partial benefits that flowed from the great public measures so highly lauded by Lord Lansdown, he denied that the credit of those measures belonged to Mr. Canning; and that as to the question of foreign policy, Mr. Canning was incapable of inspiring that confidence in the minds of those foreigners with whom he negotiated, which could alone enable him to render his measures effectual. Let the house look to the recent revolution in Spain; while Lord Londonderry lived, the interests of this country were success-

fully upheld amongst foreigners ; after his death it was not so. The power of a nation in the eyes of foreigners could only be upheld in two ways,—by confidence in its power, or by force. If they lost confidence, they could only resort to force, to maintain their position ; and if that could not be conveniently used, the result was not to be mistaken. It had been said, that a great change had taken place in the domestic policy of the country, since Mr. Canning became a member of the government. That was not the fact. All the changes in favour of free trade, all the consequences of the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies, had been attributed, by Lord Lansdown, to Mr. Canning ; but it was forgotten that those views on the subject of free trade had been developed long before he became connected with the government. Lord Goderich confessed, distinctly, that the measures upon that subject had been in contemplation for years ; and it was notorious that the whole of the system upon which the government subsequently proceeded, was laid down by Mr. Wallace, who was then at the head of the board of trade. The design of the edifice was left by the architect, but the person who took the credit of the conceptions, and who was said to have carried them into effect, had not been distinguished by that prudence and circumspection which were to be observed in the founder. As to the recognition of the South American states, it has been discovered since the passing of Mr. Canning's motion, that the late Marquis of Londonderry had long contemplated such a recognition ; and it was especially stated by that nobleman, to the ministers of the powers at Aix-la-Chapelle, that such a course would be taken by England at no very distant period. Having denied to Mr. Canning all merit in those public measures, the exclusive authorship of which had been claimed for him by the Marquis of Lansdown and his coadjutors—having deplored the death of Lord Liverpool, and the retirement of Mr. Peel—he proceeded : “ Another loss which the country has sustained, is in the secession of the noble Duke ; not so much because the army was deprived of his experience and knowledge, as because the cabinet and

councils of the country had no longer the benefit of them, and had thus lost, what he considered, its great moral strength. The Duke of Wellington was the only person in the cabinet who was able to maintain the relations of this country with the other governments of Europe, with that force and utility, which knowledge and personal weight gave, beyond mere diplomatic negotiations; and this, no man who knew anything of our foreign policy, would hesitate to acknowledge; and every body must regret, that a tone had been assumed in Mr. Canning's letters, which rendered it impossible for the duke to hold office in conjunction with him, consistently with his high character, not only in England, but in Europe. He concurred with Lord Londonderry in the sentiment he had expressed of uncompromising hostility to the government, as it was then composed; while he added to it one of sincere and ardent devotion to the Catholic cause, which no party feeling should ever induce him to abandon or neglect; not even the inducement of displacing an administration in which he had not the slightest confidence. He would not be induced to attempt any thing, to the detriment of such an administration, if he thought that he should at the same time do any thing detrimental to that question. He could not comprehend those arguments by which Mr. Canning justified his having advised the king to form an administration hostile to Catholic claims, nor how Lord Lansdown could reconcile himself to become a member of such a government. When he was told that the Catholic question was to be excluded from the consideration of the new cabinet—that the support hitherto afforded it was withdrawn—and that it stood on worse grounds now than when its opponents were at the head of the government; he could not help feeling that the question was abandoned. The first lord of the treasury could only acquire the confidence of the country, and the question only obtain a fair chance of discussion, by its being publicly known that it was to have the continued advocacy and support of that individual. As a friend to the Catholics, he considered Mr. Canning's administration to be a most deadly event to the success of the

Catholic cause. Speaking as a Protestant advocate, he would declare, that no confidence could be reposed in a minister, who withheld the discussion of a question until he should have secured a majority by other means; it was like laying a mine under the feet of his opponents, to blow them into the air when he pleased. He thought no honourable man could take office under such an administration; and that if Lord Lansdown did so, it was under the belief, a mistaken one, that he was thereby advancing the cause of the Roman Catholics. He was an advocate of religious toleration, and of the most sincere description; for while he declared that freedom of conscience was the prerogative of mankind, he adhered tenaciously to that fundamental principle on which British liberty is based — the indissolubility of the union between church and state.

This honourable, unprejudiced man, who, as his subsequent life very fully demonstrated, thought and acted for himself, was amongst the first to separate from the administration formed under the leadership of the most distinguished man amongst the Catholic advocates; and he accompanied that inacquiescence with language so strong and determined, that the usages of parliament would not admit of stronger. This circumstance is noticed, in order to show, that the opponents of Mr. Canning were not confined to the ranks of the duke's followers, but found, chiefly, amongst the advocates of the very question, on which, it was then supposed, his grace differed from the first lord of the treasury.

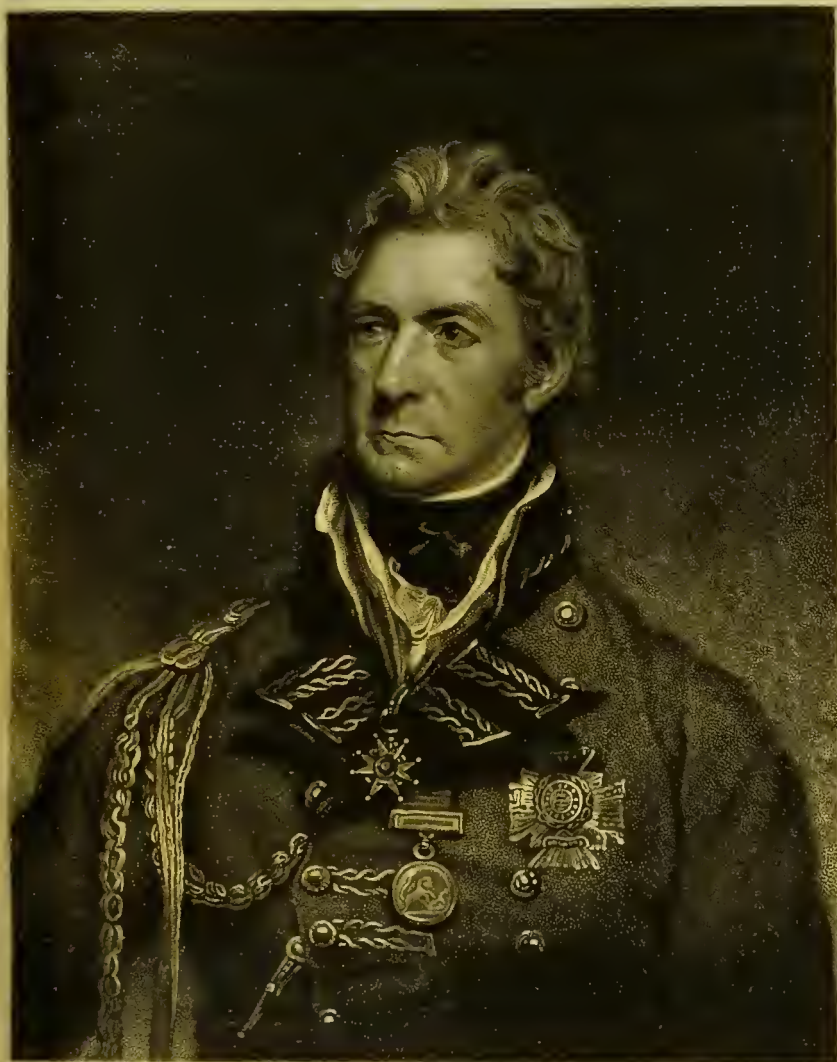
The Marquis of Anglesea, the integrity of whose motives has never yet been questioned by any party in that house, explained, in language that tended to confirm the well-known independence of his character, his reasons for taking office, and his resolutions as to the discharge of its duties. He said, he was bound by no conditions; he was in every respect as free as the air he breathed; but whether in or out of office, he felt it his duty to support the throne — not that he meant to say it was attacked, but because he considered his majesty to be fully at liberty, at any time, to form whatever administra-

tion he might think best suited to the wants of the country. If, therefore, any arrangements more conducive to the public good, than those which now existed, could be entered into, he should retire from office with the most perfect good humour.—The Earl of Winchelsea declared, that no period since the Revolution could be at all compared with the present era. He contrasted the character of the ex-ministers with the conduct of those who had resumed office, and those who had succeeded to new appointments; and observed, that whoever considered the career which Mr. Canning had pursued, must be convinced, that ambition and love of place had been the pivots of his political life.

So far, in the acrimonious discussions that followed the appointment of Mr. Canning, the part of the Duke of Wellington was confined to the defence of his own character; and, in the measures and debates which ensued, during the short administration of that persecuted statesman, the duke will not appear personally opposed to the premier in a single instance; while the advocates of the Catholic question, the old whigs, and even some of his early political associates, pursued him with a degree of virulence unequalled in our parliamentary history. It is not the duty of this memoir to point out the deadly foes of Mr. Canning, any farther than the exculpation of the Duke of Wellington's character shall require: and whenever they shall be individually named, and the part they played, in the tragedy that followed, described, this is not done with any unkind feeling towards the individuals, but for the sole object of rendering the proofs of his grace's guiltlessness, in the melancholy fate of the minister, as clear, distinct, and perfect, as evidence always should be in cases of life and death.

At length the wheels of the new government were put in motion; and, in the upper house, Lord Goderich displayed increased energy of character. On the fourteenth of May, pursuant to previous notice, he moved, that the thanks of the house should be given to Lord Combermere, for the meritorious conduct which he displayed in commanding the attack upon

Bhurtpore, the judgment which he evinced in planning the assault, and the success of which he considered to be highly valuable to the renown of the British arms. In proposing this vote of thanks, Lord Goderich abstained wholly from every topic calculated to excite discussion, and touched on those points only from which new lustre was reflected upon the valour of British soldiers, and on the military renown of British officers. The brilliant achievements and cautious movements of Sir Archibald Campbell, in the Burmese war, formed a just subject for eulogium, and the candour of the minister conceded his share of merit to that meritorious soldier; but he declared before the nation, that "it was impossible for language to convey in sufficiently strong terms the efforts made by Sir Thomas Munro, the head of the government of Madras, in which presidency the main body of the troops were collected, and who were drawn together from great distances with the utmost rapidity." His lordship, in the course of his address, stated, "that it was with no ordinary degree of pride he recollected that he was one of the individuals selected by the other house of parliament, at the termination of the Peninsular war, to convey their thanks to the great and illustrious Wellington, whom they thought it an honour to themselves to thank for the services he had rendered to his country." —The duke immediately rose to acknowledge the compliment that had been paid him by the minister, and in rising proved that it was not unmerited. He bore willing testimony to the abilities of his old companion in arms, and applauded his promptness in joining the army; to do which, he had travelled one thousand miles in ten successive days after his landing in India. His grace dwelt upon the ignorance under which our government laboured, of the topography of Ava, on which account the operations of the army under Sir Archibald Campbell, when marching on Rangoon, were attended with much anxiety, and he added, emphatically, that the conduct of that able officer was deserving of the gratitude and admiration of his country. His grace joined cordially in the vote of thanks to Lord Combermere and the Indian army.



Painted by M. A. Lee P. S. A.

Engraved by H. Meyer

SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART. K. C. B.

Thos Munro

On the first of June, Viscount Goderich, (afterwards Earl of Ripon), brought forward a bill for amending the corn-laws; a measure emanating solely from Mr. Canning, and illustrating, but too truly, the propriety of leaving our fortunes in the hands of their all-wise ruler, for that “we know not what we ask.” To this bill is to be attributed the first check to Mr. Canning’s ministerial measures—the first fatal assault upon that scheme of domestic policy, by which he expected to extend the growing prosperity of England, and add to his own political reputation. The very able advocacy of this corn-bill in the upper house, by Lord Goderich and the Marquis of Lansdowne, was met, resisted, and overthrown by the subtle reasoning of the Duke of Wellington, who proposed an amendment, that “foreign corn in bond, should not be taken out of bond, for home consumption, until the average price of corn should have reached sixty-six shillings.” This amendment was objected to by Lord Goderich; but the other members of the government in that house did not perceive the consequences of the duke’s suggestion, and allowed it to pass without further opposition. When the house assembled on the twelfth of June, Lord Goderich rose, much better prepared, yet still unequal to the conflict with the great duke. He stated that his grace’s amendment was at variance with the principle of the bill, and that a perseverance in it must be fatal to the measure, a result which the duke declared he did not desire — that he believed it rested on, or was supported by, an opinion contained in a letter from Mr. Huskisson to his grace, which letter his grace had totally misconceived; the opinion of that minister being merely a loose, general consent, to an immaterial regulation, which the duke had translated into a permanent restriction upon bonded corn. The adoption of the amendment would, in the opinion of ministers, break up the whole system of warehousing, or cause the rejection of the bill.

His grace did not question, or controvert, the interpretation given to Mr. Huskisson’s letter addressed to him, but he objected to the manner in which it was proposed to bring the principle of the bill into operation, and, it was to supply that defect he had

proposed the clause to which the ministers objected. With respect to the paragraphs* in the letter of the president of the

* The following is the correspondence to which his Grace alluded, and which Mr. Huskisson subsequently read in the House of Commons.

Letter from the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Huskisson.

“ London, May 24th, 1827.

“ My dear Huskisson — I beg you to look at the enclosed clause, and let me know whether you have any objection to its being inserted in the Corn Bill, after the clause permitting the entry. In my opinion, it will tend to diminish the apprehensions entertained, that the system of warehousing may be for the purpose of facilitating and ensuring the results of frauds in the averages; and will tend to induce some to vote for the Bill, who would otherwise vote against it.

“ Let me have your answer as soon as you can. Ever yours, most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.”

From Mr. Huskisson to the Duke of Wellington.

“ Somerset place, May 24th, 1827.

“ My dear Duke—I should certainly be disposed to acquiesce in any reasonable concession which would conciliate some of those who object to the Corn Bill in the House of Lords, without risking the loss of the measure when sent back to our House.

“ I cannot take upon myself to say, whether the proviso, which I return, would be open to this objection. On other grounds, I am afraid you would find great practical difficulties in the execution of the proposed measure.

“ It would give, as I understand it, the power to any *one* proprietor of foreign corn, in any port, to lay a *veto* upon the sale of all corn warehoused subsequent to *his* in that port, until the price reached 70s.

“ This would put it in the power of *one* individual, by reserving a quantity, however small, of *old* corn, to stop any sale below 70s. as effectually as it could be stopped by a positive prohibition under that price.

“ Supposing this objection removed, how, at any of the great ports, can you hope to get the consent in writing of every proprietor? I have no doubt that the corn now warehoused in London, is the property of at least five hundred firms or individuals, some living in London, some in different parts of England, some abroad. This corn, whilst in bond, is every day changing hands. How can it be satisfactorily certified to the Custom-house that *all* the consents have been obtained; or how is any party to set about procuring them all, or to know when he has accomplished it?

“ There are no other difficulties of detail which occur to me. For instance, a party who cannot fulfil the conditions in the port of London, may not find any difficulty in doing so at Rochester, because of corn previously bonded at the latter port there is none. In that case, the London owner may either remove his corn to Rochester, or import fresh corn from the Continent into that port, and the law would be different in different ports, though possibly very near to one another.

board of trade, he felt some delicacy, as he must decline to read in that house any letter of a member of the other; but, as regarded the amendment which he had introduced, he thought, if he understood the letter correctly, that, considering his great

“Had your proposal been that no corn bonded *after the passing of the present Bill* should be allowed to be entered for home consumption till the average price had reached 66s. and that thenceforward, all corn so bonded, or thereafter imported should come under the regulations of the Bill, individually, I should not object to such a proviso. It would ensure that *no quantity beyond that now in bond* should be thrown upon the market, unless, in spite of that quantity, the price reached a level which might fairly be taken as an indication of our being in want of a further supply from abroad.

“*But I am afraid that even this Amendment would prove fatal to the Bill in our House.*—I remain &c. W. HUSKISSON.”

From Mr. Huskisson to the Duke of Wellington.

“Somerset-place, 2nd June, 10 A.M.

“My dear Duke — I have this moment heard with great surprise, that in moving an amendment last night on the Corn Bill, you urged that amendment as having been *consented to* by me; and to prove my consent you read a *private* letter which I had written to you, in answer to one which I had the honour to receive from you on the 24th ult.

“As I did not even keep a copy of that letter, and as your grace has felt yourself at liberty, without any subsequent communication of any sort with me, to make this *public* use of it, I feel it necessary to request from you a copy of that letter, as without it I cannot enter upon that explanation of my own conduct which the use that has been made of my letter renders necessary.

“As I have only yet received a very imperfect report (not from any peer) of what passed last night on your moving the amendment, this is not the occasion to make any further observations on the subject.

“I must, however, be allowed to say, that be the amendment what it may, it *had not* my consent; and that if my consent (as is perhaps erroneously reported to me) was urged in any way as a ground for pressing its adoption, I must protest against the authority of my name having been used for that purpose.

“Though I cannot recollect the wording of my private letter, I well know the feelings with which I wrote it. I considered it as strictly *private*, addressed to a colleague with whom I had sat in cabinet upon Lord Liverpool’s Corn Bill, who had concurred in that measure, and who was, therefore, considered by me as anxious for its success: and my recollection greatly deceives me, if I did not convey to your grace that any amendment, such as I now understand to have been carried on your proposal, would be fatal to that measure.

“I remain, &c.

W. HUSKISSON.”

From the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Huskisson.

“London, June 2nd, 1827.

“My dear Huskisson,—According to your desire, I send you a copy of your note of the 24th of May, in answer to mine of that date, in which I proposed

knowledge, and experience on this subject, and the situation which he filled in his majesty's government, there could be no doubt as to the expediency of a measure recommended by him. He thought, when he submitted the clause to the house, that it

for your consideration, a clause to be proposed to be added to the Corn Bill, having for its object to prevent the use of the warehouse system to promote frauds in the proposed modes of taking the averages.

"My object in consulting you was to obtain your opinion and sanction for what I proposed to do; and having obtained, instead of your sanction to what I proposed, your suggestion of another measure, I adopted it.

"I shewed your note, and the clause which I had drawn in conformity with your suggestion, to Lord Goderich, who, I erroneously conceived, consented to what I intended to propose; and I stated the contents only when he stated his dissent from my proposition, which was, in fact, your own.

"In respect to the Bill being thrown out in consequence of this or any alteration, that is a matter that depends entirely upon the Government.—Ever yours, most faithfully,

WELLINGTON."

From Mr. Huskisson to the Duke of Wellington.

"Somerset-place, June 2nd, 1827, 11 o'clock P.M.

"My dear Duke—Your letter which I received this evening makes me regret extremely that you did not afford me an opportunity of pointing out to you, before the discussion of last night, the wide difference between what is stated in my letter of the 24th ult. as that to which individually I should have had no objection, and your amendment, which, from mistake, you represent as being my own proposition.

"The proposition in my letter of the 24th ult. to which I stated that I should have no objection, was in substance this:—To suspend the regulations of the present Bill in respect to any foreign wheat that should be bonded after the passing of the Bill until the average price had reached 66s. and to provide that *thenceforward* (i. e. after the price should have *once* reached 66s.) the provisions of the Bill should take effect in respect to all *such* foreign wheat; or, in the words of my letter, that 'it (such foreign wheat) should then come under the regulations of the Bill.'

"The effect of your amendment is, that *at no time* shall the regulations of the Bill come into operation in respect to any foreign wheat bonded after the passing of the Bill whenever the price shall be below 66s.

"My proposition obviously contemplates a measure, the extent and limits of which are as follows:—That the wheat now in bond (upwards of 500,000 quarters) should be the only foreign wheat entitled to come into the market of this country till the price should have reached 66s.; that this price *once* attained the preference should cease; and that all other foreign wheat should *thenceforward* be equally entitled to come in 'under the regulations of the Bill'—which regulations enact that it may be taken out of warehouse *at all times*, upon payment of the duties specified in the schedule.

"Your amendment is not a proviso *pro hac vice*, qualifying for a special purpose, and, *according to all probability*, for a very limited time, the general

had the approbation of both Lord Goderich and Mr. Huskisson, and he was now surprised to observe, that it was to be opposed by those with whom he supposed he had been acting in concert by bringing it forward. His object was to put a check on the warehousing system, and thereby prevent those frauds which were practised in taking the averages. It was said, that it was impossible to prevent those frauds. Then what followed? A man committed a fraud on the averages, and having thereby raised the average to the amount on which he speculated, came to the warehouses, and got what he wanted, effecting his object by fraud. Upon that principle he was opposed to the warehousing system, and the best mode of suppressing such fraudulent practice, was by putting a check upon the system. He did not mean extinction, much less prohibition of warehousing; he thought government should adopt his clause, and make it part of their bill, with which it was not inconsistent. Notwithstanding a sarcastic speech of Lord Holland, who perhaps never exerted himself more strenuously in debate—and in opposition to a forcible appeal of Lord Lansdowne in favour of the necessity of the bill—the duke's amendment was carried by a majority of eleven.

This victory was the first heavy blow, the greatest parliamentary discomfiture, which the government had received since regulations of the bill; but it is a *permanent enactment* directly contravening those regulations.

“Having thus, I trust, made clear the difference between your amendment and the proposition contained in my letter of the 24th, it is only further necessary for me to state the reason which induced me to intimate to you, at the close of that letter, my apprehensions that the giving effect to such a proposition would be fatal to the bill.

“I conceived that you would think it better not to risk the fate of this important measure by proposing any amendment, however much it might be agreeable to some parties, if you were aware that the necessary effect of its being adopted would be to put an end to the measure altogether.

“The amendment which you have carried, cannot, I am persuaded, be acceded to by the House of Commons. This is not a matter that depends upon the Government; and you must allow me to add, that were a new Bill to be brought in, embracing that amendment, it would be no longer, *even in principle*, the measure agreed to in Lord Liverpool's cabinet, but one of a very different character.

W. HUSKISSON.”

its formation; and the manner in which it was borne by the members of the administration, evidenced their total deficiency of tact and temper. Upon the announcement of the majority, Lord Goderich stated, that he would waive any further opposition to other amendments; and Lord Clifden said, "if he were one of the ministers, he would throw away the bill at once, and leave all the unpopularity of such proceedings to his grace's supporters." On the following day Lord Goderich informed the house, that he had abandoned the bill altogether; and, on being reminded, by the duke, of the propriety of the measure, he caused the order for the third reading to be discharged. The want of temper displayed by ministers, in this instance, was severely reprimanded by Earl Grey, who could not be suspected of any concert or co-operation with the Duke of Wellington, having opposed the military measures of that illustrious man, during the whole of the Peninsular war, and having, at a subsequent period, carried in the house of lords those political changes to which the duke was firmly opposed. His lordship's opinion, therefore, must be deemed independent, and, if his caustic expressions occasioned pain to the party in power, the supporters of the duke are totally unconnected with that result. He stated, that he did not support the amendment as being opposed to the principle of the bill—he would never lend himself to the unworthy purpose, and he was confident the noble duke would not, of opposing indirectly that which he supported directly. He voted for the amendment as an improvement, and as tending to check abuses under the bonding system. Thinking, as he did, that the manner in which the bill was introduced, in a season of clamour, was highly objectionable—thinking also, that the government was much to blame in listening to that clamour—thinking also, that, for the last six years, corn had never risen too high—it appeared to him that no case was made out for the immediate interference of the legislature. Although questionable whether he could sanction the bill, without too great a sacrifice of that interest which he was anxious to uphold, he had acquiesced, but never with the most remote idea, that in any of the stages of the

bill, the deliberative powers of that house should not be exercised ; and therefore it was that he voted for the amendment of the duke. There was danger of a glut of corn in the market, and the amendment was intended to guard against it. The alteration proposed by the duke, allowed bonded corn to be brought into the market, not at sixty-three shillings, but at sixty-six shillings, which he considered a great improvement. He did not think the amendment vitiated the bill, although he might admit that it was a partial contradiction. But, said his lordship, I have of late heard much in this house of distinctions, where I can see no difference. I do not see any difference between absolute prohibition, and a duty which shall be so high, under the name of a protecting duty, as to amount in fact to a prohibition. The amendment is opposed to the technical principle of the bill; but there are other parts of the bill which are also contradictions of this principle. Is not the reciprocity clause a contradiction? Does it not give to ministers the power of stopping the introduction of corn. I have no doubt that the minister pursues his present course from a sincere conviction that he is only discharging his duty; yet, it appears extraordinary that he should contemplate the abandonment of the bill, in consequence of the alteration produced by the amendment. I do not think that any noble lord, who is held worthy of taking part in his majesty's councils, can act so unworthily as to abandon the bill for the purpose of exciting the discontent of the country. If it shall produce that effect, I am ready to meet it. I stand here one of a body which will always be ready, firmly and honestly, to resist such effects—which always considers anxiously, and feelingly, the interests of the people, even when it must oppose the people themselves—and which will never consent, under the influence of fear, to give way to clamour. If I am told we run a risk of having a worse bill, I shall not suffer myself to be intimidated by any such threat; and if a worse bill should be sent up, the house would pursue the same course it had pursued by the present bill. It would consider it,—amend it—and if it could not improve, reject it. I have said this much, and I might say

a great deal more. If there should arise a contest between this house and a great portion of the people, my part is taken : and with that order to which I belong, I will stand or fall. I will maintain to the last hour of my existence the privileges and independence of this house.

From the tone of Earl Grey's address, his impassioned manner, and the conspicuous energy of his language, his feelings towards the bill, and his opinion of the ministers, may be clearly and most unequivocally collected. His opposition had not been calculated upon by the new administration ; and even when he did take his seat on the opposition benches, some forbearance was expected from him for any inaccuracies in their early propositions. But how great must have been ministerial disappointment, when, in the person of Earl Grey, the leader of the liberal party in the upper house, the most able, and it may almost be added, the most independent of his party, whose public virtues were conspicuous and acknowledged, whose repeated refusal of office, unless that office were accompanied by the fullest recognition of what he considered the people's rights—when this eminent person added the weight of his example, and the influence of his great debating powers, to the majority already possessed by the opposition, the volume was no longer resistible. The chagrin which ministers felt at the adhesion of Earl Grey to the duke's party was insupportable, and, in a fit of fretful peevishness, they determined upon abandoning the bill. This unworthy pettishness would not require notice here, were it not that having, in an ill-tempered mood, abandoned the bill, they endeavoured to affix to the duke the stigma of having factiously opposed the measure, and of having unfairly involved Mr. Huskisson in the question, while the real grounds of their folly were the terror of the talents of their new and unexpected enemy in the house of lords. Mr. Canning was not insensible to the consequences of the combination of so much talent against his government, but he felt, too acutely, the tone of those observations which Earl Grey thought it his duty to make. As to the part the duke had acted, as well as the fate of the bill, he seemed to view both

with sorrow and alarm, and did not hesitate to impute the result to party spirit and management. As a temporary relief he moved an amendment, that "all foreign grain or flour, then in British warehouses, should be admitted into the market from the first of July, 1827, to the first of May, 1828, upon the same terms as laid down in the late bill."—Mr. Peel vindicated the duke's character from the unworthy aspersions thrown upon it, and declared his perfect conviction, that he had acted upon a misapprehension of Mr. Huskisson's meaning. At this moment, a new feature was given to the debate, a new feeling introduced, by the observations of Sir E. Knatchbull, who expressed his regret and humiliation, that such a line of animadversion upon the Duke of Wellington's motives should have been made upon the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. This unexpected allusion to the occasion in which the duke had saved the empire from great danger, was followed by a tremendous burst of applause, which lasted for several minutes. When this tribute of gratitude and admiration was paid, Mr. Huskisson rose, and defended his conduct in his correspondence with the duke, reading the letters already given in explanation.* In the conclusion to which he arrived, Mr. Canning acquiesced, and, from a desire to mitigate the asperity of the language he had previously employed in speaking of his grace, he said, "that he could not exclude from his consideration the possibility that even so great a man as the Duke of Wellington might have been something like an instrument in the hands of others." This extenuation was too late, an insult had been injudiciously offered to the highest character in the world at that day; at all events, to one whom England most honoured, merely because he had, in the execution of his well-known penetration, read a letter from a correspondent with a different meaning from that which the writer had intended to convey. That he had done so, was not the consequence of his sagacity solely, the ambiguity of the style contributed to the misconception. The air of candour adopted in ascribing to his grace's adherents the worst possible motives, hypocrisy, trea-

* Vide Page 182.

chery, and their attendant qualities, did not obtain credit from the opposition, who must have felt its very ungracious bearing. As to the probability of its truth, that indeed was evanescent; for, exclusive of the guilt and immorality of the act, no member of the British senate would have dared to circumvent the illustrious duke, or abuse his confidence. It was unwise, impolitic, and at length fatal to Mr. Canning's government, this selection of the Duke of Wellington as an object of attack. He was not entitled to the duke's support, any further than the wisdom of his measures might claim for him, and it was a vital error in his policy, his evasion of a direct contest with those opponents, whom, from actions originating with himself, he had converted from firm supporters into involuntary enemies.

On the twenty-second of June, Lord Goderich moved the committal of the "corn averages bill;" in which he was opposed by Lord Farnham, who proposed an amendment, substituting Great Britain and Ireland for England and Wales, in order that a more extended and real average might be obtained. The Duke of Wellington pointed out, in a clear manner, the blunder of ministers, who endeavoured to apply the newly-proposed mode of taking the averages to a corn-law passed in 1822, to which it could not be applicable, and, with those enlarged and liberal views which he took of all public questions, he demanded the most extensive information upon the averages, and every other point connected with the measure. The second reading of the Warehoused Corn Bill, a proposition that had grown out of the original bill, from the peevishness of ministers at being defeated by the duke, was moved by Lord Goderich on the twenty-fifth. Since that defeat, the language, in the lower house of parliament, had been as violent as the usages of that assembly could admit; and the president of the board-of-trade had there endeavoured to extricate himself from the meshes of that controversial net, in which, by the sagacity of the duke, he had become entangled. All that he established was, that his communications did admit of the interpretation which he wished they should admit of; a fact at once exultingly acknowledged by Mr. Canning, and the majority that acted

with him in the house of commons; but this did not disprove the ambiguity of the style in which those letters were written. Determined to repel an accusation as injurious to his character as it was wanting in grounds, the duke seized the opportunity presented by the present motion, to release himself, wholly, from the imputation of having wilfully misunderstood Mr. Huskisson's meaning, and of having factiously assailed Mr. Canning's favourite measure. He stated his readiness to support the new measure, in consequence of the disappointment occasioned to the country from the abandonment of the old, against which no hostile attempt had ever been made by him. He had been accused, he added, not only of proposing a measure, which was inconsistent with the principle of the bill, but of doing so from private and party motives. But he must say, that if ever there was a man who had proposed a measure individually, and without any knowledge whether he would be supported in it or not, he was the person. He had proposed it, not only imagining that it would have the support, but that it actually was the suggestion of one of the ministers of the crown. He did not mean to say, that he did not labour under a mistake, but if he did, he was so mistaken with a great many others, who had both before and since the amendment read over the letters of the president of the board of trade. He then read to the house a further correspondence, with Mr. Huskisson, in which he had endeavoured to induce ministers to take the measure out of his hands, and, with improved temper, carry it themselves. He concluded by declaring, that he was wholly uninfluenced by any feeling of party or faction, or a desire to embarrass, but that he had one view only, that was—to make the measure more palatable to the country.

It has for many years back been the practice of the opposition in parliament, to embarrass ministers by every political stratagem, and manœuvre, which they can contrive without disgrace: however iniquitous the system, it does exist, and is excused on the plea that public injury is not contemplated, nor does such actually result, the only object being ministerial defeat; and, that if a rejected measure possess intrinsic value, it

will be revived by the party that succeeds to the administration : delay, therefore, is the only inconvenience which would result to the public, by the struggle of parties for pre-eminence and power. As this conduct is sanctioned by precedent, it was competent to the duke to have adopted it, as leader of the opposition in the lords ; but, that he did not employ this disreputable artifice, is proved by his public declaration,—by the acknowledged ambiguity of Mr. Huskisson's letter — by the confession of Lord Goderich on the twenty-fifth of June—and, lastly, on the same day, by the support and advocacy of Earl Grey, who could not be suspected of acting in concert with his grace, upon a political or any other subject. His lordship rejoiced at what he called “an apology” of Lord Goderich, and described the statement of the duke as remarkable for its propriety and clearness, and which placed the motives of those who supported his amendment in so perspicuous a light, that it would be presumptuous in any man, after him, to attempt his vindication, or to justify the motives of those who had acted with his grace—motives sanctioned by a majority of that house. “After what has fallen from the noble duke, said Lord Grey, there is no man, with a spark of candour and honesty, who can say, that, that amendment was proposed with the intention of defeating the bill. This has been calumniously asserted, but the calumny has been met by the indignation of that house. Mr. Huskisson has admitted that the amendment might have originated in an ambiguous expression of the letter, avowedly written in haste by him, to the duke. The mind of the duke became impressed with a conviction of the utility of introducing that proposition, as he understood it, into the bill, and he persevered in it, not for the purpose of defeating the bill, but of furthering it, by improved regulations ; yet, for such a course was the noble duke visited with the most calumnious aspersions—aspersions, however, which no one had the indecency to cast on him in that house ; yet were those aspersions most assiduously and industriously circulated throughout the country, so that no person could take up a newspaper without meeting them,—it was widely spread, that the object of the amendment was to

defeat by indirect means, what he dared not openly oppose ;—to procure the rejection of the bill, and thereby withhold relief from the poor in one of the first necessities of life. This bill has not been rendered necessary by the amendment of the duke, yet I give it a reluctant support, because there is nothing in it inconsistent with that amendment, nor with the general interests. To say that this bill has been rendered necessary by the amendment, what is that but a wilful misrepresentation? A mistake may be set right—a prejudice may be removed—an argument may be combated by reason—but a determined spirit of misrepresentation could not fairly be encountered, for its malignity was only excited by every exposure of its falsehood. I assert, upon the honour of a peer, that I did not support the amendment in the expectation, or the wish, that by its adoption the whole measure would be defeated. What had been done on former occasions, might have been done on this ; but, I must say, that besides the disadvantages in other matters, to which the calamity that has befallen Lord Liverpool has subjected us, it is not the least of those disadvantages that his majesty's councils should not be marked by the same discretion, “and the same temper, which distinguished them when he presided over them.” His lordship complained, that the consequences of the duke's amendment had been exaggerated by *persons who owed their very existence to the duke* : he spoke not then of his great military services, *but of services of a different kind*, and concluded his very impassioned and able explanation with the following true and eloquent appeal : “The opposition to free-trade in corn is not at variance with popular rights, but essential for public prosperity. Popular rights I have ever upheld, whenever and by whomsoever assailed :—I have made some sacrifices for them—I am ready to make more. At the same time, when I have met wild and extravagant claims and doctrines under the name of popular rights, I have not shrunk from the obloquy to which an opposition to them may have exposed me. To that obloquy I am as ready again to expose myself, as I am to endeavour to retrieve the constitution from those invasions

which I have considered as most dangerous to popular security : but, at the same time that we should be anxious to uphold the dignity of the crown, and to protect the just rights of the people, we should remember, that we as well as they have rights and privileges given to us, not so much for our benefit, as for theirs ; that we are an intermediate body, forming a link of connexion between both, and standing as a barrier to resist the encroachments of the one upon the rights of the other. These respective rights, in their legitimate exercise, I am desirous that all should enjoy.”

Thus closed the debate on the corn-bill, upon which Mr. Canning had built hopes of acquiring still greater popularity ; and now also terminated the only opposition which the Duke of Wellington had given to his brief administration. The extracts here given from Lord Grey’s powerful anti-ministerial speeches, will go far to show that political hostility was not confined to the duke and his adherents ; but extended to the ablest advocates of popular rights, to one who divided popular applause with the premier himself ; who disputed with him for the palm of public oratory, and who retained his wide influence, and subsequently exerted it, to produce a total and radical reform in the commons house of parliament. On the second of July following, the two houses of parliament were prorogued by commission ; by which the public taunts of the opposition were necessarily postponed, but no other opportunity was afforded of renewing their violence, for it was even then written in the decrees of fate, that the end of the minister’s earthly glory was near. Unable to endure the cool and studied insults of disappointed friends — unequal to resist the combination of his former allies and habitual enemies—too sensitive to the shafts of satire, of ridicule, of calumny, perhaps—he became a victim of refined feeling, and fell from the pinnacle of the temple, to rise no more. The coarse language of the Duke of Newcastle, who designated him “ the most profligate minister that ever was in power,” must, or ought, to have been passed by as the idle wind ;* but the haughty height on which Earl Grey

* History of the Reign of George IV.

had taken his stand, was an unexpected and serious blow ; for it shook the confidence of the public in the new arrangements ; it was such a blow, as Lord Chatham, by a deliberate and formal declaration of the same kind, gave to the Rockingham administration. The cases bear a striking resemblance : both ministries were partial conquests over an exclusive and vicious system of government ; both had to contend with a court oligarchy and an adverse bias in the mind of the sovereign ; in both cases, there was a present compromise of principles, with a view to their future triumph, while a certain analogy of public station and personal character warrants the supposition that Lord Grey, like Lord Chatham, was influenced by personal ambition and impatient pride. The effect, however, was chiefly felt by his own party, the whig allies of Mr. Canning. The uncompromising consistency, high ground, and stately solitude of Lord Grey, gave a seeming air of littleness and desertion to those who had left his side, to group themselves behind the minister.

Mr. Canning's health exhibited symptoms of decay, before any serious apprehensions for his safety had been entertained by the public ; but the wasting fatigues of office, and the mental anguish which he seemed to have endured from the virulence of his opponents, brought a painful complaint, to which he was subject, to a more speedy crisis ; and, on the eighth of August, 1827, he expired at Chiswick-house, a villa belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Several curious coincidences have been noticed in the biography of Mr. Canning and Charles James Fox : — both acquired extensive popularity — both reached the summit of their ambition — both endured the persecution of their political antagonists with such sensitiveness, that the diseases under which they respectively laboured, were fomented, and brought on speedy dissolution. They both breathed their last in the same chamber of death, and in their graves they are laid side by side.

Some alterations that had been anticipated by the changeable people, took place upon the death of the premier. The duke's

party made no overtures; they observed a degree of silence and reserve, which public decorum demanded, and to which they were disposed to adhere, upon the untimely fall of a generous and noble enemy. A feeling of unusual regret spread through the land; no one appreciating more fully the feelings that followed this public calamity than the Duke of Wellington. His grace sought no participation in the changes that were in progress—however the king and the ministry viewed his exclusion from all share in the councils of the state—but was at this moment meditating a series of visits to some of his companions in arms, resident in the north of England, as well as to several of the nobility in that part of the kingdom, with whom he was on terms of old intimacy. Before his intentions could be carried into effect, it was announced, on the seventeenth of August, that Lord Goderich had been appointed premier, and Mr. Huskisson his successor as colonial secretary. Mr. Herries, who had refused office under Mr. Canning, became chancellor of the exchequer. The Duke of Wellington was induced to resume the command of the army, without a seat in the cabinet; and Lord Palmerston adhered firmly to his post, as secretary at war.

Upon the completion of these changes, his grace set out from London for Grimstone Hall, near York, the seat of his friend Lord Howden, where he arrived on Saturday, the twenty-second of September. Here he found the lord mayor and sheriffs of York waiting to communicate to him a resolution of their ancient corporation, to present to him the freedom of their city. It is not a little remarkable, that the great man drove up to the mansion of his friend, attended by one servant only; the lord mayor of York had arrived in a splendid carriage, preceded by three out-riders. Having delivered their gratifying commission, the municipal officers sat down with the noble guests, at Grimstone, to a splendid entertainment. On the Monday following, his grace proceeded to Bishop's Thorpe, where he breakfasted with the Archbishop. From this splendid palace his grace departed at ten o'clock, in order to make his public entry into York, where the excitement of the inhabitants exceeded any thing ever remembered by the oldest inhabitants. Proclamations for the pre-

servation of order, decoration of houses, illuminating of windows, and directions of coachmen, were posted up at the public places—and the fashionable promenades were crowded, as during the times of the great festivals. At the Mount, without Mickle-gate Bar, his grace, accompanied by Lord Howden, in an open carriage with four horses, was met by a party of lancers, who formed around, and escorted him to the spot where the civic procession awaited his arrival. On passing within the line of the constables, the people could no longer be restrained; they rushed simultaneously towards the horses, forced them from the carriage, and placed themselves joyously in their stead. A procession was now arranged, consisting of various ancient clubs, lodges, unions, guilds, military and mercantile associations, furnished with cloth banners, on which the names of those places, all over the world, in which the hero had triumphed, were emblazoned in gold; while a party, immediately in front of the duke's carriage, bore a magnificent silk flag, with the words, "the Hero of Waterloo." As they passed Ouse bridge, a salute was fired from the vessels in the river; and as the hero proceeded, he was cheered by thousands of elegantly dressed females, from the windows and the balconies. Arriving at the assembly-rooms, his grace was conducted by a committee of citizens to the court-room, where an elevated chair was placed for him, but he declined this distinction in favour of the lord-mayor, and took his seat on his lordship's right hand. Mr. Sinclair, the recorder, now read the address of the corporation, which, besides the expected complimentary phrases, had this, rather remarkable, passage: "We may consider it as a special distinction of Providence, that your grace happened to be co-temporary with a man of extraordinary talents and character, whose arrogant and frantic ambition suggested to him the wild idea of subverting and overthrowing all the established governments, states, and laws of the earth; and of making himself the sole lord and master, the ruler and tyrant, of the world. Your grace was the happy instrument, chosen by Providence, to put a final stop to his mad, but alarming career, and thus to lay a foundation for the re-establishment of peace

and tranquillity throughout Europe :” it concluded by stating, “that the Duke of Wellington had deserved well of his country.” After this simple, just, and true commentary upon the vast projects of Napoleon Buonaparte — this christian commentary upon the achievements of his conqueror—the lord-mayor, (W. H. Hearon,) rose, and presented to his grace the freedom of the city, in a gold box, of fifty guineas value. His grace’s reply alluded pointedly to the independence and respectability of that corporation, and expressed regret that he could not remain longer in their ancient city, to which he had been so affectionately welcomed. Alderman Wilson, “the father of the city,” congratulated the lord-mayor upon the happy occasion; after which his lordship presented an address to his grace, from the citizens and inhabitants of the vicinity generally. This gratifying tribute affected the hero sensibly; he replied in an animated manner, ascribing the greater share of the glory which the address spoke of, to his brave fellow-soldiers, some of whom were then around him. The citizens of York had been predetermined to be pleased with “the hero of Waterloo,” but his condescension to the chief magistrate, in presence of those over whom he presided, his magnanimity in sharing with the humblest soldier the glory of his great conquests, so completely overpowered his admirers, that the most tremendous applause burst forth when the noble warrior arose to pass from the court-room to the Minster. As the duke entered this noble temple of our faith, the fine peal of bells proclaimed aloud his welcome; and when he approached the communion-table, a full choir sang that beautiful chorus from the Creation, “The Heavens are telling.”

Leaving his new fellow-citizens of York to pass the residue of that memorable day in feasting, and various other demonstrations of happiness, his grace hastened towards Wynyard, the seat of the Marquis of Londonderry. Here similar marks of applause, admiration, and gratitude awaited him. Five hundred of the marquis’s tenants mounted on horseback, and accompanied by a detachment of torch-bearers, rode into Stockton, and formed in procession. Taking the Yarmouth

road, they soon met the object of their search, whom they drew in triumph to the town-hall of Stockton, amidst the largest and most respectable assemblage ever seen at that busy place. Having taken a seat in the Marchioness's carriage, he was there presented with addresses from the corporation, by Mr. Raisbeck, the recorder; from the clergy and inhabitants of the surrounding country, by Colonel Grey; and from the corporation of Hartlepool, by the recorder, accompanied by General Seddon, Sir C. Sharp, Captain Vollum, and several other gentlemen of rank. His grace was equally successful in winning the best wishes of the citizens of Stockton by his considerate conduct. It was by his particular desire that the spacious area in front of the Guildhall was adopted for the presentation of addresses, in order that the ceremonies of the day might be placed within the immediate view of all classes of the inhabitants. The magistrates caused the duke's kind attention to the happiness of the humbler classes, to be made known to them; and there can be no doubt an increase of enthusiasm was the natural consequence. A collation was prepared in the assembly-room, at which the mayor presided, and proposed the health of his grace, in a manner that would have reflected credit upon higher authorities in the realm. After the ceremony, the illustrious party proceeded to Wynyard, where the numerous tenantry of the Marquis of Londonderry regaled themselves with an ox that had been roasted whole for the occasion, and drank the health of the hero in deep draughts of ale.

On the first day of October, 1827, the Duke of Wellington, pursuing his tour through this happy land, which owed much of its happiness and all of its preservation to his courage and great military talents, arrived at the toll-bar of the ancient town of Alnwick. Here a similar enthusiastic burst of feeling was manifested by the inhabitants, who drew his carriage through the streets, amidst loud plaudits of vast crowds, brought together from the surrounding country, that they might look upon the hero of Waterloo, after the dangers he had past. Within the Barbican the staff of the militia were under arms to receive

the commander-in-chief, and an interesting group of spectators, the children of the various free-schools were permitted to assemble in the court-yard before his arrival. As the duke alighted from his carriage, a salute of nineteen guns was fired, after which a number of hogsheads of ale was broached in the wide area, and the contents freely distributed by as many waiters, to the joyous multitude. Proceeding to Alnwick castle, he was received by the Duke of Northumberland in a style commensurate with that nobleman's hospitable character and princely fortune; and on the following morning he received the address of the clergy, magistrates, and inhabitants of the borough. On the morning of the third October, his grace, accompanied by Marshal Beresford, proceeded to Howick, the seat of Earl Grey, where he was met by a numerous assemblage of nobility and gentry at breakfast; whence he drove to Durham, where he had promised to dine with Dr. Van Mildert, then bishop of the diocese. At Frammallgate-moor, the duke was joined by the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry, and, entering their carriage, was drawn in triumph by the people to the market-place of the city: here a platform was erected, which his grace ascended, to receive and answer the different addresses from the clergy and citizens, one of which was presented by Captain Chipchase, a member of one of the most ancient families in the north of England. The court-house was the next place of public rendezvous, where a third address was delivered by the Hon. W. K. Barrington. These ceremonies being concluded, his grace was drawn in his carriage to the bishop's palace, where a party had been invited to meet him, consisting of several public characters, the most distinguished, for military glory and literary renown, then living. A sumptuous banquet had been prepared; after which, when the occasion arrived, the venerable prelate arose, and proposed to his guests the health of the Duke of Wellington: his lordship said, that the castle of Durham had been often honoured by the presence of distinguished persons, even of the rank of royalty, as well as persons conspicuous both in arts and arms, in the military and literary history of this country; but never, he was sure, had

those walls admitted an individual who had rendered to his country services of so important a nature, as the noble duke who then honoured him with his presence there. His grace returned thanks, observing, that he knew not who had before been entertained in that baronial hall; but of this he was certain, that none had ever been received there with more hospitality or equal honour. The next health proposed by the bishop, was that of Sir Walter Scott, which he prefaced by remarking, that his various talents in literature, whether shining through poetry or prose, history or fiction, were exercised in support of virtue and good morals. Had the amiable bishop alluded to the poet's love of romance, and his delineations of chivalry, it would have suited the occasion better, and might have produced a reply worthy of the man and of the occasion; but his lordship, rather professionally, lauded the peaceful virtues of Sir Walter's writings, while the author was at heart a knight-errant, and while one of the greatest conquerors that ever lived, then filled a place at the banquet. Despoiled of his armour, Sir Walter declined the lists, and, instead of celebrating the praises of the hero, like his own bard in the hall of Glenaquoich, he observed, in an embarrassed manner, "that he should deeply lament, if he had written anything which was not consistent with exact propriety; and that he was truly sensible of the honour conferred on him by the commendations of the bishop, in presence of such an illustrious guest as the Duke of Wellington. Sir Thomas Lawrence, the president of the royal academy, was also present, but seeming to consider that he represented the silent sister only, he deputed his cause to the poet. The festivities of that day were concluded by a ball at the assembly-rooms, which the duke also attended, continuing to acquire increased popularity by the unostentatious manner which he everywhere evinced.

On the following day, the ducal cortège entered Sunderland, drawn by the towns-people. As he crossed the bridge, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired; and, while he passed beneath a triumphal arch, that was erected at the expense of the ladies of Sunderland, across the High-street, wreaths of flowers were

dropped into his carriage, by a number of young Floras placed in the branches above. The scene that followed was more serious than any that his grace had previously witnessed on his tour. As he advanced towards the Exchange, the crowd rapidly increased in density, and the pressure became alarming, upwards of forty thousand persons being enclosed within the area of a single avenue. Just as danger began to be apprehended, his grace reached the platform erected for his reception, where he was presented with an address by Messrs. Robinson and Fenwick, supported by Sir Cuthbert Sharp and others.

Less gorgeous and costly than the decorations and reception at other places, this at Sunderland must have made a much deeper impression. Wealth, kindness, hospitality, personal influence, private regard, contributed to procure for the illustrious chieftain a gratifying reception at the various stately palaces and halls he had visited, and in their dependent borough towns; but here it was the uninfluenced voice of the people that was raised, to thank him in the loudest accents, for the blessings, which, under God's assistance, he had conferred upon his country. That man knows little of the true character of the people of Sunderland, who supposes that the cheers with which Lord Wellington was received on his visit to their town, could have been purchased by any price, short of a virtuous devotion to the service of the state. The Duke of Wellington had deserved well of his country, and the stern, uncompromising patriots of Sunderland were too honest to deny him his just reward. Amidst the deafening shouts of these tens of thousands, the duke proceeded to the Exchange, the Commission-room, and finally to the spacious Reading-room, which had been fitted up, at considerable expense, as a banqueting-hall. At the sumptuous feast that followed, the Marquis of Londonderry presided, and it became his duty to propose the health of their distinguished visiter. Having thanked the happy assemblage for the honour they had paid him, his grace, in turn, proposed the health of the noble chairman. "Known as my noble friend is," said he, "it is scarcely necessary that I should add anything to the mention of his name; but I can-

not reconcile it to my own feelings, and I am sure it would not be satisfactory to yours, if I did not mention to you some circumstances of his life with which I am acquainted. I have had the happiness of being connected with him for many years ; but in public life, our connexion commenced with the late war in the Peninsula. The records of the country will have made known to you the services he performed, in the situation of adjutant-general of the army, while he served under my command and I am now addressing you in the presence of those who can tell you that the reports of those services have been by no means exaggerated. No officer in that army, was more distinguished for all the qualities of an officer, than my noble friend. From that service he passed to others more extended, and lastly to the diplomatic service, in which he has been equally successful." Sir Walter Scott, who still followed the chariot-wheels of the conqueror, was present at this banquet, and, on the proposal of his health by Lord Londonderry, attempted to return thanks ; but the applause was so tremendous, and so lasting, that no record has been preserved of what the great novelist replied. It would be a tedious repetition to detail the honours paid to the Duke of Wellington at Newcastle, at Ripon, and the vicinity of Studley-park, the beautiful seat of Miss Laurence, and the last private residence which he visited during his northern tour. From this hospitable mansion he returned to London, rather sooner than he had intended, declining an invitation to visit Leeds, in consequence of a desire expressed by the Queen of Wurtemberg, to see his grace, previous to her departure for the dominions of her royal consort.

Having obeyed the wishes of his august friend, and partaken of the annual civic entertainments, his grace again left London, for Wootton, the seat of the Marquis of Chandos. His presence in the vicinity soon awoke the gratitude of the inhabitants of Bucks, and his public entry into that town was immediately determined on. Having granted a similar favour to the burgesses of so many towns in the northern counties, he could not, without an appearance of partiality, have refused the request of his new admirers. As the conquering hero, accompanied by Lord

Beresford and Mr. Peel, proceeded to the town, he was met and escorted by the numerous tenantry of the Marquis of Chandos, and by a guard of honour from the Bucks yeomanry. A salute of nineteen guns was fired as the cortège drew near, and the whole strength of the hussary yeomanry of the county, headed by the Marquis, was mustered in the market-place, to receive his grace. Proceeding to the town-hall, Mr. Minshull, the recorder, read an eloquent address from the burgesses, and the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood. After an usual complimentary preface, this document proceeded: "The imminent danger with which this country was surrounded, in the course of the last momentous and sanguinary contest, is indelibly impressed upon our minds; and we are deeply sensible, that our safety was mainly secured, and the peace and independence of Europe achieved, by your grace's judgment in the council and valour in the field. As your grace was the first to arrest the career of that ambitious conqueror, who wrote upon his standard, "The Pride of England must be humbled," so was it your fortune to annihilate his power by one final and glorious effort, at the ever memorable battle of Waterloo."

The duke acknowledged how gratifying it was to him, to enjoy the good opinion of his countrymen, and how anxious he ought to be in every situation in which he might be placed, to deserve it. He was willing to believe, that the regard for him, which the people of Buckingham had that day demonstrated, in a way which could not be mistaken, would be a stimulus to others to serve their country with the same zeal and fidelity, and, by the blessing of Providence, with as much success as he had done. It appears to have been the habitual practice of his grace to humble all others whom he encountered, as well as the great conqueror of Europe, for, who did not feel lowered in his pride when he heard this great man declare "that he owed his victories more to the courage and magnanimity of British character, to the co-operation of his brother officers, and to the liberal and wise measures of the government of England, than to any individual service of his own." Such a

declaration could not fail to elevate still higher his great renown, and give him a new species of triumph, in his country, and in public opinion.—Upon the conclusion of this interesting ceremony, the nobility and gentry proceeded to the public assembly-room, where a *déjeûné à la fourchette* had been prepared. After the health of his grace had been given, the recorder proposed that of the Right Hon. Robert Peel:—this produced an unexpected effect, a display of the most enthusiastic feeling, in favour of that eminent individual, and of the politics he had so long, so ably, and so consistently maintained. Amongst the various qualifications of this able statesman for the duties of political life, his quality of self-possession under all circumstances, was neither the least valuable nor conspicuous; and his tact and good taste in meeting these sudden flashes of popular admiration, have seldom been exceeded. He alluded, with much feeling, to an address he had once received, under happy circumstances, from many thousand freeholders of that rich county—a document which he regarded as a testimony of their approbation of his conduct while in office, and which he declared he would preserve as a title-deed of their good opinion and regard, and a stimulus to future exertions in the cause of his king, his country, and his religion, to the latest day of his existence. The rejoicings on this occasion were concluded by a review of the yeomanry corps in the avenue of Stowe, the noblest seat in England; and by the liberal distribution of roast beef and plum-pudding amongst the happy multitude.

His grace's departure from Bucks closed his series of visits to the aristocracy of England—to whom he had been known as the hero of the age, as the ablest diplomatist in Europe, as the greatest and most extraordinary man in existence—as the individual who had saved England from French conquest and domination—as the Mars and the Mentor of England, whenever she should be menaced by her enemies. The presence of such a man in the baronial castles of England, was a fulfilling of the destiny of each proud pile. For what were their towers reared towards heaven—for what their dungeons sunk in the

recesses of the earth—for what their moats and ditches and portcullisses constructed, but that, at some period or other, they might be connected with a chivalrous name. Henceforth the hall hung with heraldic emblazonments, and decorated with the armour of ancestral knights, was to be exhibited as the place where the hero of the hundred battles,—where the most illustrious warrior of British history, was entertained, and where he related, with that modesty which is inseparable from the greatest talents, the romantic achievements of his eventful life.

But this series of visits, like the circuit of Queen Elizabeth, had a very different object from that which may, at first, appear to the reader of these memoirs. His grace had assuredly included, amongst other motives, that of paying a respectful acknowledgment to a country which had not shown itself ungrateful for his services; he had also in view, an interchange of kindly feelings with those whom he had always esteemed and loved, amongst whom were the family of the Marquis of Londonderry,—but, we have also conceived, and the impression belongs wholly to these pages, that his grace's tour had an ulterior object in view, a great political design,—the conciliation of the aristocracy. It may be observed, that the stately halls of Howick re-echoed to the grateful acknowledgments of the hero, as well as the more familiar home of Wynyard; he allowed no distinction of politics, party, religion, or rank, to influence his conduct; he was equally affable and condescending amongst associates as opposite in rank and politics, as in fortune and pursuits.

The natural consequence of such condescension, on the part of one placed at such an immeasurable interval from the humble world, is the conversion of those who previously envied or disapproved—the still closer adhesion of those who always admired. Never perhaps, in the history of political men, was this maxim more entirely illustrated than in the case of the Duke of Wellington. There were towns in England, the inhabitants of which were influenced by a conviction of the rapid prosperity that must attend parliamentary reform—of the iniquity of withholding from Dissenters and Catholics a participation in political

privileges. There were great men in England, who envied the glory of the man who had preserved to them their domains and their dignity, and whose opinion upon domestic policy was as wide from those of the duke as "pole from pole." His appearance amongst these political enemies put all hostility to flight—they fell in with the tide of popular enthusiasm—they vied with the generous and the grateful portion of their countrymen, in offering their homage to the saviour of our altars and our homes; and when the Duke of Wellington returned from his visit to the aristocracy, and to the people of England, he carried with him the esteem, confidence, and personal regard of many thousands, to whom his greatness alone had always presented an insurmountable objection. How this vast accumulation of personal influence, and general popularity, was employed by the duke, as an instrument for the accomplishment of those objects which he conceived to be calculated to promote the happiness of the United Kingdom, will appear, obviously, during the progress of those political measures which he introduced in the year 1828.

Lord Goderich had declared, "that no earthly inducement, save the preservation of a disjointed ministry, which he might be desirous to cement, should persuade him to accept of the premiership." This opportunity had actually occurred by the sudden death of Mr. Canning. And his lordship, on the solicitation of his colleagues, and the command of his sovereign, so far fulfilled his public promise. But the occurrence of domestic affliction, added to a sincere dislike, or distaste, for political life, operated so early upon the minister's mind, that he tendered his resignation only a few weeks after his acceptance of office. The dispute relative to the corn-law amendment, the continued discussion upon the political disabilities of the Irish Catholics and some perplexing questions on finance, had loosed the bonds of union in the cabinet so completely, that Lord Goderich did not feel inclined to re-forge a chain to bind them. Another circumstance of equal consequence, the appointment of Mr. Herries to be chancellor of the exchequer, contributed in widening the broad intervals between ministers

into total separation. This situation of chancellor of the exchequer in the British cabinet, is one of the last consequence to the prosperity and happiness of the country, although it is often most injudiciously disposed of. It requires a man of sound practical financial views; of pure and excellent feeling; of integrity, known not merely to his friends, but to his country at large; and of decided influence of character. Mr. Herries had held a clerkship in the treasury, and there acquired much knowledge of the details of office; but he was so decidedly an attachée of the tory party, that his appointment disgusted the whigs, and astonished those amongst the tories, who were ignorant of the able manœuvres by which he had been raised to such an elevation in the very front rank of his enemies. Two men of tried talent for that office, Mr. Tierney and Mr. Huskisson, were passed over, in order to test the effects of this measure of conciliation, which the nomination of Mr. Herries evidently was. The displeasure of the whig ministers at the policy of Lord Goderich, which they suspected to have arisen from a design to conciliate the Duke of Wellington, became obvious, in mootng an amendment that was proposed amongst ministers, immediately preceding the opening of parliament. Messrs. Tierney and Huskisson held a private communication with the premier, upon the nomination of a committee of finance, of which it was agreed that Lord Althorp should be the chairman. This transaction was entirely without the knowledge or concurrence of Mr. Herries. When it was to have been communicated to him, it is now impossible to say; but the first intelligence of an arrangement, intimately, vitally, connected with the successful conduct of his department, which he received, was derived from an accidental meeting with Mr. Tierney at the Colonial office. There a list was inadvertently shown him of the contemplated committee, and the distrust of his colleagues fully established. That it was a premeditated scheme, to eject the chancellor of the exchequer from his office, few who read these circumstances can doubt; but it does not appear that Lord Goderich was either a participator or approver, nor that he perceived the drift of

the plot. The scheme succeeded; Mr. Herries insisted upon the obliteration of Lord Althorp's name as chairman of the committee. Mr. Huskisson threatened instant resignation, if such a request was complied with. A circumstance upon which the whig members of the government had never calculated, completely frustrated their ultimate object—that was, the resignation of the first lord of the treasury, and dissolution, in consequence, of the administration. Whether his lordship had conceived that his confiding and unsuspecting habit had been abused by wily men—whether he perceived that his attempt to conciliate the duke's party had only exposed him to the mercy and machinations of their leader, he appeared to feel that he had been sacrificed; and, that he must necessarily be rejected by one party, while he was resolved upon rejecting the other,—resignation of office was the best mode of relief. When he tendered his resignation, his royal master, who had been known to make the most caustic observations whenever his personal convenience met interruption, upbraided the party whom he sheltered by his prerogative, by telling them, “that he would have been true to them, had they only been true to themselves.”

If the Wellington party had really been guilty of pushing Mr. Herries into the enemy's camp, so much address must have been employed in the accomplishment, that no traces of such a manœuvre are now discernible. The effect, however, was precisely the same; for the admission of Mr. Herries into a whig cabinet, laid a mine under the whole establishment, which sooner or later must have exploded.

The resignation of Lord Goderich being accepted, and the want of cordiality and mutual confidence amongst the whigs being fully proved, the king made a virtue of necessity, and, without any further attempt, although Earl Grey stood prepared to take the helm and reconstruct a whig cabinet, sent for the Duke of Wellington. When Mr. Canning first spoke to the duke upon the formation of a cabinet, Mr. Goulburn was the individual who appeared to both to be most eminently calculated for the office of first lord of the treasury; but when

Mr. Canning actually received instructions to proceed in the difficult duty, it is believed that his grace's view was fixed on Mr. Peel. This was either known or suspected by Mr. Canning, and was, most probably, the first among the reasons of that minister, for being indifferent as to the duke's adhesion. From these circumstances, in addition to the declaration of his grace, on the first change of ministers, as to his own incapacity and disinclination for the highest office under the crown, it was believed, that in no case would that illustrious person be removed from the Horse-Guards. How great, therefore, must have been the surprise of his own party, and the dismay of the opposite, when the Gazette announced the appointment of the Duke of Wellington to be first lord of the treasury. To this great man such promotion was no additional elevation in rank, renown, or influence; and there is every reason to imagine, that his acceptance of so laborious and badly requited an office, was to prevent a mischievous struggle, between the ablest men in the tory party, for the post of honour, by taking it himself; for no rivalry could or did exist between his grace and any other subject in the realm. The influence of the duke, and his unrivalled position, rendered it more difficult to select from those who desired the honour of serving under him, than to discover men eminent for peculiar qualities. Under his authority, petty personal jealousies, narrow views, and worthless distinctions were buried; and Messrs. Huskisson and Herries, who found leisure to quarrel under the mild minister who had just retired, like the trained troop-horse, hastened to fall into the ranks under the orders of the great captain who had assumed the command—having henceforth only to obey. The home department was filled by Mr. Peel; Mr. Goulburn became chancellor of the exchequer; and Lord Palmerston was content to be secretary at war under the new ministry.

Mr. Huskisson's acceptance of office, under the men who had been supposed to have pursued his friend, with unrelenting malignity, even to a cruel death, excited a very general feeling of disgust, and exposed him to the reproaches of many who had

been personally attached to the late premier ; they viewed his conduct as fickle and heartless ; in fact, the nation could only perceive one prominent object in the scene, namely, the love of office. The eloquence of Canning still vibrated in the ears of every freeman of Liverpool ; they never could forget that their prosperous town had once been represented by that eminent person, and gratitude for actual services rendered to their trade, by his able advocacy, reminded them that he had at least been faithful to them. When he was placed by his sovereign in that position which rendered it becoming that he should no longer represent any populous town, or any great commercial interest, he called his friend Huskisson into existence, and it was impossible that the desertion of Canning's memory "in one little month," could have escaped the indignant reprobation of the spirited merchants of Liverpool. To the murmurs of these honest people Mr. Huskisson replied in a tone of too much cheerfulness, and too much confidence, in proportion to the service into which he had just been taken, when he ventured to say, that he had obtained "guarantees" for the future policy of the government, and that he was enabled to evince his respect for the memory of his illustrious friend, by following out his liberal and popular measures. This assertion, as loosely made as the opinion which he had hazarded in writing to the duke on the corn-law amendment, produced an immediate, scornful, and direct denial from, on this occasion, "the fiery duke."—"Pledges," said the new premier, "had neither been asked nor given ; and if they had been asked, they would have been indignantly refused." Tremblingly alive to the necessity of retraction, or of a full and sufficient explanation, the colonial secretary embraced the first possible opportunity to make a public exposition of the circumstances, stating, that by the use of the term "guarantee," he simply meant to imply that, the continuance of himself and one or two others of the late ministry, was in effect a guarantee on the part of the new premier, that liberal measures would be pursued. This was the second, yet not the last instance, in which a collision had taken place between the duke and Mr.

Huskisson; for, on the nineteenth of May, in this year (1828), having voted for transferring the elective franchise from East Retford to Birmingham, in opposition to Mr. Peel, he became so alarmed at the act of independence of which he had been guilty, that he entered once more into an unlucky correspondence with the duke. The following extract from his letter does not appear to admit of a second interpretation. "I owe it to your grace, as the head of the administration, and to Mr. Peel, as leader of the house of commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the king's service, which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils, however unfounded in reality, or unimportant in itself, the question which has given rise to that appearance." This letter had been marked private and confidential, and Mr. Huskisson stated in his explanation, that he did not mean it as a resignation, or to express any intentions of his own, but to relieve the duke from any delicacy which he might feel towards him, if he should think that the interests of the government would be prejudiced by his remaining in office, after having given a vote, with respect to which, from the turn the debate had taken, a sense of honour left him no alternative." Experience should have taught this practised politician that the duke was a just, but wily diplomatist, that he possessed remarkable powers of discernment, and exhibited no less perspicuity in expressing his wishes by letter. Mr. Huskisson had before been guilty of inadvertence, in writing to the duke; he had felt the consequences of a collision with the great man's sagacious and metaphysical mind, and he should have paused before he committed himself a second time in *literis scriptis* with his grace. He was now told "that no option remained but that of submitting his majesty's government to the necessity of soliciting Mr. Huskisson to remain in office, or of incurring the loss of his valuable services. And that, however sensible the duke might be of this loss, he was convinced that in those times any loss was better than that of character, which was the foundation of public confidence."

It was in vain that the friends, and even colleagues, of the colonial secretary, ventured to assure his grace, that Mr. Huskisson did not mean to resign, his only object being to avoid creating embarrassment to the cabinet ; the duke remained inexorable. Lord Dudley next entered the arena of solicitation, writing a full explanation to his grace of Mr. Huskisson's friendly disposition, as evinced in his recent conduct, and undertaking to show that his grace had mistaken the real meaning of the secretary's letter, and given to it an explanation different from that which the writer intended. The duke declined to interpret the letter in question according to Lord Dudley's glossary ; and replied in a style of distinctness, which Mr. Huskisson would have been fortunate had he also adopted in his correspondence. His grace, wrote, "it is no mistake, it can be no mistake, and it shall be no mistake." This climax concluded the negotiations with Mr. Huskisson's friends, whose importunities had shown how eagerly he desired to retain office, and how resolved the premier was never to accept of him again as a ministerial colleague.

The dismissal of Mr. Huskisson was followed by the retirement of his friend Lord Dudley, by that of Mr. Charles Grant, whose talents and virtues were held in deserved estimation, both by the Duke of Wellington and the country at large, and by the secession, upon grounds not very obvious, of Lord Palmerston. The sound policy which induced the duke to accept of the arduous and profitless, but distinguished place of prime-minister of these countries has already been noticed ; and it most assuredly affords a clear exposition of his wise and considerate conduct, for, the nomination of any other individual to that high office would have been attended with such bickerings, and jealousies, as must necessarily have unseated any conservative administration otherwise constructed. However much his grace desired to retain the command of the army, he felt that its tenure was inconsistent with that of first lord of the treasury. Under this impression he selected Lord Hill from amongst his companions in arms, as his successor at the horse-guards, and appointed him general commanding-in-chief of all his

majesty's forces.—A variation was made in the style or title under which his lordship was to hold office, but none in the extent of the patronage, power, or duties attached to the situation. From his grace's resignation of a situation which he so particularly valued, his opinion of its peculiar nature may be concluded. It is obvious that he viewed the commandership-in-chief as a place purely military, separated and distinct from every political consideration; a rule highly deserving of the attention of those who shall in after times be called to the discharge of its important duties. Other changes, and of serious character, took place during the progress of this year, amongst which, perhaps the resignation, by the Duke of Clarence, of the office of lord high admiral, was the most remarkable. His royal highness possessed a free, unaffected, open manner, and, when he was first placed in a position in which he was enabled to receive his old mesmates, he liberally extended to them the rights of hospitality. Had his generosity and warmth found sufficient room to expand in this way, he would never have been subjected to the observation of ministers. But his royal highness, a noble specimen of a British sailor, and ardently attached to his profession, made a sort of professional tour to the sea-port towns, dock-yards, stations, depôts; and he produced a very animated demonstration in favour of the British navy, by his presence at these places. As the expense of a procession of this description, and by a member of the royal family, must have formed a large item in the annual grants, it is supposed that the Duke of Wellington remonstrated, that the royal duke was offended, and that the resignation of the unnecessary office was the consequence. The illustrious person being heir to the throne, ministers acted boldly in complaining of his too lavish expenditure of public money; and when the royal duke subsequently reached the highest rank in these kingdoms, he displayed an admirable magnanimity, by confiding in the individual who had thus cautioned him against improvident conduct. The duties of lord high admiral were again placed in the hands of a naval council, and Lord Melville was called from the presidency of the India board

to be first lord of the admiralty. In the appointments that resulted from the duke's immediate nomination, that of Lord Hill alone formed a subject of regret, the nation generally having looked upon the Marquis of Anglesea as the natural successor of the illustrious duke, to whom he had been second in command on the day of Waterloo. But this gallant nobleman was content with the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, where a sufficient sphere existed for the exercise of those talents for command, which he had ever directed, successfully, to the happiness of those under his authority, few predecessors in that very difficult and uncomfortable viceroyalty having acquired a larger share of popularity than this gallant soldier.

The military premier,* having entered upon the duties of his office, not only his public acts, but even his private life and habits became the subjects of a popular analysis. It was found, however, that although totally dissimilar from those of his eminent predecessors, his grace's domestic life and transaction of business were not objectionable. Indisputable evidence of the following facts was openly, but somewhat meanly, submitted to the public attention: "That his grace slept on a mattrass, spread upon an iron camp-bedstead; that he rose regularly at seven o'clock each morning, breakfasted at eight, and immediately after attended to his official duties. His letters generally arrived about nine o'clock, and it was then, as it had been in the preceding years of his life, his undeviating practice to reply, decidedly, to every application on the instant. As it would not have been

* It was stated in the periodical prints of the day, that the duke of Wellington declined the premiership, and recommended Lord Bathurst to his sovereign, which met his majesty's concurrence; but, that Mr. Huskisson expressed a repugnance to serve under that nobleman. It was next suggested by his grace, that Lord Melville should be placed in that high position, but to this arrangement Mr. Peel was resolutely opposed. Lord Harrowby, it was supposed, had previously refused to accept the office, so that the duke had no other alternative but that of undertaking those duties himself of the office which his ablest coadjutors had rejected. This statement was put forward, not only by those who were indifferent as to the choice of ministers, but even by the journals which were most warm in support of the Wellington administration,—that they were most probably much mistaken as to the true grounds of his grace's conduct, we have already endeavoured to prove.—vide p. 210 vol. iv.

possible for the first lord of the treasury to give personal answers, his grace marked on the corner of each letter, the nature of the answer which he desired to be returned. Soon after eleven, the premier mounted his white charger, the same that he rode in the field of Waterloo, and proceeded to the treasury, where he remained engaged in business until five o'clock, unless summoned to attend the privy council, or a meeting of the cabinet."

Notwithstanding the lapse of time that intervened since the laurels of the hero were green upon his brow, public curiosity was still unsatisfied, and as he passed daily to his office, he was generally followed either by a crowd of the humble classes, or noticed in some congratulatory manner, by almost every passenger. His punctuality is supposed to have disturbed the tranquil life which public officials, particularly in the treasury, had enjoyed without interruption for many years. Wishing to get rid of some of the useless perplexity which encumbered the public accounts, his grace desired that a simpler mode should be immediately adopted in making certain payments; to this the gentlemen of the treasury replied, that such had never been the practice of the office, and in fact was impracticable.—"Never mind," said the duke, "if you cannot do it, I will send you in half a dozen pay-serjeants, who will!" The idea of substitution was as novel as the proposed method of payments, and the bare suspicion that the tenure of their office might be endangered by the experiment, soon transmuted impossibilities into things practicable, and the wishes of the military minister into efficient commands. On a second occasion, when the finance committee required certain accounts to be prepared, so voluminous that double the usual office hours would have proved inadequate to their completion by the appointed time, the gentlemen of the treasury again declared the utter impossibility of compliance, and it was suspected that a strike was actually contemplated. It is not likely that such a scheme was ever seriously entertained amongst gentlemen of liberal education, and who owed a large debt of gratitude to their country, for the quiet enjoyment of a mode of life, alike easy and honourable: the report was

evidently circulated to excite the premier's consideration, for the extra services which the production of the accounts obliged them to give. The train was judiciously laid, and might have succeeded in other instances, but in this it signally failed, for, no sooner had it reached the duke, than the following order was issued: "Till these accounts are prepared, let each clerk attend one hour earlier, and one hour later than he has been accustomed to do."

The Duke became the terror of the public servants in the treasury, but, as he was unsparing of personal exertions, their sufferings found little sympathy from the people, and the indefatigable attention of his grace to public business, his habitual promptness and courtesy in replying to all applications, however humble the source, secured for him the respect of the country generally, and the willing obedience of his political fellow-labourers. He seemed capable of giving attention to all the departments of government without personal inconvenience, and so to apportion his time, that his presence was never denied on any great public occasion. The hop-growers in the year 1828, complained of the difficulties attendant upon the regulations for *bonding* hops under the circumstances of that season, and laid their petition before the duke with fears for the result, not imagining that his grace would readily find leisure to consider the reasonableness of their wishes, and a disposition to enter into a question with which they believed him to be unacquainted. Both conclusions, however, were fallacious, for, in a few days after the presentation of their petition, they received an answer, granting their request and exhibiting a lucid view of the supposed difficulties of the subject.*

* The following important letter on this subject was sent from the treasury ; from which it appeared that the regulation relative to the *bonding* of hops would probably be attended with some difficulties:—"Downing-street, 11th March, 1828. The Duke of Wellington and Mr. Goulburn present their compliments to Sir Edward Knatchbull and Mr. Curteis. They have considered the petition of the hop-growers of the several counties which were presented by them at the last interview, and have the honour to acquaint them, that directions have been given for postponing the payment of the hop duty till August and November next, on sufficient security being afforded for the payment of one-half

The second session of the current parliament was opened, by commission on the twenty-ninth of January, when lord chancellor Lyndhurst, delivered the royal speech. This ceremonious production alluded to the Greek insurrection, and the measures taken by the allied powers, to effect a reconciliation between the Greek patriots and the Ottoman Porte, or to give freedom to that ancient and interesting land. In endeavouring to achieve an end so desirable, "a collision, wholly unexpected by his majesty, took place in the port of Navarino, between the fleets of the contracting powers and that of the Grand Sultan. Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his majesty deeply lamented that this conflict should have occurred with the naval power of our ancient ally; but he still entertained a confident hope, that this *untoward event* would not be followed by farther hostilities, and would not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it was so manifestly their common interest to accede." The successful issue of our timely aid to Portugal was next spoken of, and a congratulation upon the general prosperity of the revenue and the national manufactures closed the speech.

Lord Holland did not object to the substance, or rather substantiveness, of the speech from the throne, but there were epithets, or adjectives added to it, conveying impressions that were not warranted by facts. The first was, that which called the Ottoman Porte an ancient ally. Turkey had only enjoyed a very short-lived alliance with England, her former relations being only those of amity and commerce; these relations first commenced in the reign of James the First; they were formally recognized by the Porte to the time of Charles

of the duty now due at each of those periods. The Duke of Wellington and Mr. Goulburn have farther had under their consideration, the inconveniences which have been found to result from the repeated postponement of the payment of the hop duty, and which have arisen in a great degree, from the mode in which the duty is now paid. They have, therefore, thought it expedient to take measures for effecting a change in the existing regulations, the effect of which will be that hops in future will be bonded, and the duty paid only on the article being taken out of bond."

II. and William III., but only reduced into the character of a treaty by our minister, Mr. Adair, just seven years previous to the battle of Navarino. His lordship proceeded at much length to show from history that the epithet "ancient," was totally misapplied in the manner adopted in the royal speech. There was another qualification which appeared to the same nobleman equally improper, that was the word "untoward." He conceived that it implied censure, or blame, or dissatisfaction, towards Admiral Codrington; whose conduct he warmly defended, and whose peculiar and very delicate situation he compared to that of Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, when dispatched to the Mediterranean with a powerful fleet, to prevent the Spaniards from making a descent upon any part of Italy.

The Duke of Wellington defended the introduction of the prefix "ancient" on the ground that an alliance had undoubtedly long existed between this country and Turkey—that the Ottoman empire was an essential part of the balance of power in Europe—that the preservation of that power had been for a number of years, an object, not only to this country, but to the whole of Europe; and that the revolutions which had occurred, the change of possessions which had taken place in that part of the world, rendered the preservation of the Ottoman empire, as an independent power, capable of defending itself, an essential object. Had it not been for the influence of the councils of England over that country during the late war, the disaster which finally led to the establishment of Europe, in the state in which it was then found, would not have occurred to the extent to which it reached in 1812. The epithet "ancient," might not therefore apply to alliance by treaty of a hundred years, yet there was no doubt that a friendly intercourse had been maintained between both countries for a lapse of years, so that the objection to the employment of that word was perfectly allowable. With regard to the expression, "untoward event," his grace defended its propriety upon the ground that, "the operation of the treaty was not to lead to hostilities, and that the contracting powers were to

take no part in actual hostilities; therefore, when that condition was violated, the circumstance must, indisputably, be considered untoward; for it did, unfortunately, dispose the mind of the Sultan most unfavourably towards the allied powers, a circumstance unfortunate equally for the cause of Greece and freedom. The course of the debate upon the address was interrupted by Lord King, who inquired into the fate of the late unlucky corn-bill, and by the Marquis of Londonderry's congratulations at seeing the duke placed at the head of political affairs. His lordship compared the new premier, as a man in whom all Europe confided, with the late minister, whose administration he described as having been unsupported by the leader of the liberal party, because he could not place confidence in the individual at its head. This assertion produced an explanation on the part of Earl Grey, who denied that he had been actuated by any personal objection to the late minister—a want of confidence in the administration, generally, was the ground of his opposition. His Lordship called on the Duke of Wellington to revive the corn-bill, not that of the preceding session, although based on similar principles, for he considered Mr. Canning's bill liable to several objections.

Some frivolous interruption, such as that of Lord Darnley, who would have substituted, by a special amendment, the words, “a country at peace and amity with us,” for those of “ancient ally,” met that reception with which such vexatious attempts are usually visited: and the anxious, but equally vain inquiry of Earl Ferrers was more completely answered than had been anticipated, by the Duke of Wellington, who stated distinctly, “that he felt great reluctance to place himself at the head of the administration; but finding that it was the unanimous opinion of his colleagues, that he should occupy that situation; and finding, also, that much difficulty presented itself in inducing any of them to accept it, he had come to the determination of resigning the command of the army.” Thus, like the dictator of old Rome, this British hero having acquired the highest power and authority of which

this monarchical government will admit, and, having shown the calm temperament with which he was enabled to wield them, voluntarily resigned the control of that army he had so often led to victory, and which had as frequently brought him back in triumph, and retired into the ranks of the king's ministers. —The Marquis of Lansdown, who occupies no minor part in the history of this period, defended the conduct of the late minister, and eulogized the bravery and bearing of the British admiral: but his was no factious opposition; content with the simple explanation which the duke gave to the house, of the term "untoward," he allowed the answer to pass, with that magnanimity which has accompanied all his public actions, and has marked him as an exemplary member of the order to which he belonged.

At every meeting of parliament, from this period until the enactment of the Roman Catholic relief bill, a measure originating solely with the Duke of Wellington, the grievances of that part of the community were brought before both houses, in some shape or other, either by the enemies of the measure, who endeavoured to depreciate the merits of their cause, or by their advocates, who, with no less zeal, sought to elevate their partisans with themselves. In Dublin, the Roman Catholic association held frequent meetings, and exhibited in some instances an unjustifiable disregard of those boundaries which should confine debate and publication. At one of those clamorous meetings, a resolution to this effect was carried by acclamation: "That we feel it a duty we owe to the Irish people to declare, that we shall consider every Irish member of parliament an enemy to the freedom, peace, and happiness of Ireland, who will support, either directly or indirectly, any administration of which the Duke of Wellington, or any individual professing his principles, is the head or contriver: and we call on all counties, cities, towns, and parishes in Ireland to act upon the spirit of this resolution."

Although the preceding document betrayed the grossest ignorance of the history of their own country, the duke, when a member of the Irish parliament, having declared himself de-

cidedly favourable to the admission of Catholics to place and power; and although the duke's future political views were only conjectured by the Irish, from his close friendship with Lord Castlereagh, during that minister's prosperous career; still the noisy declamation was received with considerable indignation in England. The Marquis of Londonderry brought the publication of the resolutions before the house; but their harmlessness had been previously perceived, and while all acknowledged the impropriety, Lord Clifden alone became the apologist of its authors. His lordship, himself an Irish peer, warmly pleaded the cause of his countrymen; he said "it was not to be wondered at if intemperate language should break forth from a people whose hopes had been deferred for seven and twenty years. It was not in human nature to put up with such injustice." In these observations, relating solely to the duke's principles of public conduct, no other members participated, silence being looked upon as the most perfect emblem of disapprobation.

The agitated state of society in Ireland must necessarily have extended its influence to the sister kingdom, and on the eleventh of February, Lord Darnley, who was personally connected with families of distinction in that part of the united kingdom, implored the Duke of Wellington to bring forward some measure for the amelioration of the condition of Ireland, or appoint a committee to inquire into the state of its population. His grace briefly answered, that a measure relative to Ireland would be brought forward in the other house in the course of the session, although not of the nature contemplated by the Earl of Darnley. The situation of Ireland had at length pressed itself so completely upon the consideration of ministers, that it was apparent no cabinet could be long-lived, until the question of Catholic disabilities, and the test and corporation acts, were disposed of. In the latter, which was the first step taken, the first advance made in the cause of reform, the Duke of Wellington does not appear to have taken a prominent public part. To Lord John Russell belongs the sole and entire merit of working

that repeal through parliament, the effects of which, it is more than probable, were never foreseen, either by the mover himself, or by those of the anti-catholic party, who were indifferent to its success. The feelings and sentiments of the Duke of Wellington upon this, and upon all other questions, in which broad, liberal, views alone accorded with their accomplishment, were known but to few, and those were of the higher classes of the aristocracy, who evinced but little desire to participate in the labours of government; but a reference to his grace's opinions upon religious toleration in the Irish parliament—a reference to his sentiments upon the non-interference with the attendance of the soldiers at Roman Catholic chapels in Spain and Portugal, during the Peninsular war—his strong feelings against the continuance of the African slave-trade—his conduct in the particular instances of General Sir John Moore, Dr. Duigenan, and Mr. Gifford, present a volume of evidence to prove the original liberality of his sentiments upon all points of religious and domestic politics. From this testimony it may be concluded, that his grace never did desire, covertly or otherwise, to throw the least obstruction in the way of this equitable enactment, but, on the contrary, that its generous objects had his entire approval.

Every subject that came under the discussion of either house at this period, gave occasion for a revival of expressions which indicated disappointed feeling. The Earl of Carnarvon moved for the production of all papers connected with the treaty of the sixth of July, 1827, and the result of that treaty at Navarino. He rested the necessity for their production on the injustice that would be done to Sir Edward Codrington by withholding them. His lordship forgot that neither the conduct nor the courage of our gallant admiral was impeached, so that any defence of him, or by him, would be supererogatory; however, having expatiated at length upon the “untoward event,” he proceeded to animadvert with much bitterness upon the conduct of individuals who had formed part of Mr. Canning's administration, and who did not hesitate to give their adhesion to a cabinet composed of the individuals

who had treated him with a degree of harshness, of which he was confident they then repented.—The Earl of Eldon, passing over all ministerial explanations, as then uncalled for, and almost obsolete, directed his remarks to the treaty of July : he denied that the treaty of July could in any sense be regarded as a corollary, from the articles signed by the Duke of Wellington, and sanctioned by the government of which he was a member. He regarded the treaty as utterly repugnant to the law of nations, and ridiculed the pretence that that law had not been practically violated, because Sir Edward Codrington, when ordered to sail into the port, and through the fleet of an independent government, for the purpose of taking possession of one or both, was directed to avoid any collision. The Duke of Wellington expressly denied that the proper policy of Great Britain dictated constant interference in the affairs of independent states ; such interference might, he admitted, in a particular case, be commanded by over-ruling necessity, but he laid down non-interference as the rule, interference as the exception. The policy which the cabinet of 1826 contemplated with respect to Greece, and in furtherance of which he had signed the protocol alluded to, was essentially pacific. His grace finally declared, that it was his fixed determination to carry the treaty of July into execution, according to its letter and spirit, and in good faith.

Passing from the subject of the treaty, his grace directed himself to the observations that had been made by the opposition lords in the house, and attributed to Mr. Huskisson, in his address to his constituents at Liverpool. These observations, which have been before alluded to, insinuated that Mr. Huskisson, Lord Dudley, and some others, who had taken office under his grace, had previously extracted from him a guarantee for the free enjoyment of their opinions and actions. Upon this subject, his grace seemed to feel sensibly, and addressed the house, in language that evinced how deeply he felt the insult thus offered to his honour. “Did the noble lord, who made the assertion,” said his grace, “suppose that those gentlemen, who had connected themselves with me in

his majesty's service, knowing, as they did, the opinions which I entertained, and the principles which I professed—did he imagine that they would come to me and require a guarantee for the due practical application of those principles, before they would concur with me in urging on the measures of government? Or was it to be believed, that, entertaining those opinions, I would abandon them for the purpose, the corrupt purpose, of procuring the support and services of those gentlemen in consideration of such sacrifices. Is it to be supposed that Mr. Huskisson could have used the expressions ascribed to him at the Liverpool election? If that gentleman had entered into any such corrupt bargain, as he is represented to have described, he would have tarnished his own fame, as much as I should have disgraced mine. It is most probable, although I have not thought it worth my while to ask for any explanation on the subject, that Mr. Huskisson stated, not that he had concluded any wholesale bargain with me, but that the persons of whom the government is now composed, are in themselves a guarantee to the public, that their measures will be such as will be conducive to his majesty's honour and interest, and to the happiness of the public. That must be what Mr. Huskisson said: and not that I had given him any guarantee for the principles of the government—no guarantee was required, and none was given on my part. But suppose that a guarantee had been given to any one person, who acceded to the government, what has been done towards others in the same situation? Was there no other individual whom it was necessary to satisfy in the government but Mr. Huskisson? Every member of an existing government has a right to state his views of the duties of that government, to have his objections satisfied, to state his opinions upon every subject proposed for the consideration of government, and to have those opinions decided upon. I could not have withheld explanations from some, and given guarantees to others. My opinions are known, I have departed from none of them; nor has Mr. Huskisson, I believe, departed from any of his."

The indignant rejection of the charge of having given pledges

to Mr. Huskisson for the principles on which the duke meant to conduct the government, produced the effect which he intended should result from it,—an explanation and retraction by those who were so rash as to invent or propagate it. And, it is highly probable, that the hint, which his grace gave them, in his reply to Lord Goderich, formed the groundwork of the defence, which was afterwards set up for their precipitate conduct.—The Marquis of Clanricard, who spoke immediately after his grace, complained of the violation of solemn pledges, by those very men who professed the most unalterable attachment to Mr. Canning, since he then perceived them in the ranks of the late minister's enemies. Such conduct was defended by Lord Dudley upon various grounds; amongst others, by the example of Mr. Canning himself, who formed a cordial coalition with the Marquis of Londonderry. Other instances he knew might be adduced as precedents in favour of forgetting pledges, angrily given in seasons of violent political conflict.—A lengthened debate followed, connected with the past or present conduct of the Duke of Wellington, having reference to the dissolution of the late cabinet, the want of sympathy in the undeserved sufferings of the deceased minister, evinced by those who had been in life his bosom friends, and the explanations of the ex-ministers of the circumstances that led to the decisive battle of Navarino.—The proposal of a new corn-law bill was the signal for a repetition of those angry expressions that marked the debates in both houses for some months after the decease of Mr. Canning. It has already been shown, that the degree of intimacy which existed between his grace and the late premier, did not demand any sacrifices on the part of either, beyond those which the public interest called for; yet, so pertinaciously did the disappointed members of the late cabinet act in imputing personal unkindness to the duke, in his transactions with Mr. Canning, that he at last pronounced a total disclaimer of the existence of private friendship, and a solemn warning to those who persevered in attributing to him either motives, or actions, unworthy of his renown. “I rise,” said the illustrious nobleman, “to protest

against any such imputations being cast on me, as that I entertained personal hostility to Mr. Canning. I defy any man to point out, in the correspondence which took place between us, and which has unhappily been made public, anything like personal feeling. After I had left the government, I always met Mr. Canning in the way in which I had been accustomed to meet him; I never did depart from those habits of friendship which had marked our previous intercourse, and I had no hostility towards Mr. Canning's government. I beg to add also, that Mr. Canning was free from the imputations of having entertained political hostility towards me."

When the amendment of the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Canning's corn-law bill was carried, his grace protested against the abandonment of the original principle of the measure—a line of conduct unworthy of men of candour or temper; the proposers, however, lost their self-possession, and threw up the project. It now devolved upon the duke to redeem his pledge to the country, by proposing a measure which should be in all respects equivalent to that which had been lost through his interference, and disencumbered of the viciousness which it involved. As a preparatory step, his grace, on the thirty-first of March, 1828, moved for certain papers, calculated to show the operation of the act of the preceding session, relative to the introduction, for home consumption, of corn warehoused before the first of July, 1827. In performing this task, his grace took the opportunity of stating the nature of the bill, which he intended to bring forward upon these returns, and the principle upon which the measure itself was based. He was aware that a variety of opinions existed on this subject:—some thought, the importation of corn should be regulated by a high duty, others that it should be admitted free,—some that a small duty would be sufficient: all seemed to confess however, that some fixed regulation should be established, and fair protection afforded to the agricultural, as well as the manufacturing interests. He maintained that this country had been brought into its then high state of cultivation, by the protection which had invariably been afforded to agriculture

by parliament, and which had induced proprietors to expend capital upon the reclamation of waste lands. The effect of a low duty upon corn would be to throw the poorer lands out of cultivation, and turn them to waste, and reduce the cultivation of the richer lands, thus diminishing the productive powers of the country, and finally throwing England for support and subsistence upon foreign countries. Against such an alteration he warned the nation; for although the growth of corn was attended with little cost in Poland, should famine visit these countries, the price would not be regulated by the standard of the country in which it was raised, but by the profits which were to be derived by all those who were concerned in the importation of corn. A reduction of duty, in the existing state of agriculture, he conceived, would not be attended with a corresponding reduction in price, but, on the contrary, produce an enormous advance. To Ireland, the consequence of withdrawing the existing protection from agriculture would be alarming, that country having supplied England with two million quarters of grain in the year 1827. His grace felt assured that no member of that house would sacrifice that country, deprived as she was of manufactures, for the chance of introducing corn into England at a somewhat lower price. It was his opinion, that the merchant, the manufacturer, the poor, and the whole public, were interested in the maintenance of the independent affluence of the nobility and gentry of this country. It was the interest of the crown and its ministers, to support them, on account of the assistance which had always been derived from them in every branch of internal government. If it were in his power to make corn cheaper, by diminishing the protection which the landed gentry had always received, he would not do so, but leave this country to endure the inconvenience, considering the condition of Ireland. As to the extreme measure of entire prohibition, such a system could not be carried into execution, without exposing the country to serious evils, arising from want, from high prices, and from a superabundance of corn. These evils could only be alleviated or relieved by the illegal interference of government,

or by ministers coming down to induce parliament to consent to the suspension of the law. These opinions, not hastily formed, induced him to recommend a bill, the principle of which was, that the duty should vary inversely as the prices. Having made a brief allusion to his conduct upon the question, when in opposition to ministers, and reminded the house of his previous suggestions for the prevention of fraud in the warehousing system, he moved for the desired returns.

It has been a main object of these memoirs, to prove indisputably, the very liberal and expanded views of their illustrious subject, in all matters of policy, religion, and personal freedom. Had a selection been made from the most exciting topics in domestic politics, for the purpose of testing his grace's feelings as a man and a legislator, more perplexing questions could not have been discovered, than those which the opposition raised, and the people joined in pressing upon his consideration. Our monetary difficulties had received material assistance from his private suggestions to the leading mercantile interests; the corn-laws would have occasioned the fall of the Canning administration, and afforded sufficient fuel for the maintenance of an ever-burning flame in the manufacturing districts. With this difficult subject his grace now grappled; and, if he did not wholly subdue the monster, he enforced submission of longer continuance than the ablest of his predecessors had been able to procure.

The quiet, dignified reserve of the Duke of Wellington, both in his military and political duties, had always been mistaken, by the lighter spirits that moved around him, for hauteur, for coldness, for indifference to the wants and the wishes of both soldiers and citizens; and those who envied his rapidly rising fame as a legislator, meanly lent themselves to the propagation of this unfounded impression, "that the people had nothing else to expect from a military premier, the friend and companion of all the monarchs of Europe, but arbitrary, despotic, and illiberal measures." Untaught by the public declaration of his early years, that none should be excluded from serving the state on account of religious opinions; dis-

regarding his grace's more matured view of the same question, which asserted that "the state was entitled to the services of every citizen, in that particular point in which he excelled;" and ignorant, most probably, of the broad construction which the great man suffered to be put upon military regulations in matters of religion, during the Peninsular war, the opposition basely pointed to the *pater patriæ*, to him who had preserved their property and their lives, as the unbending enemy of their liberties. Had his history been better known, this calumny would either have slept for ever, or been stifled when it awoke; but a special providence confounded the devices of his enemies, who now, blindly but boldly, brought forward a measure, of a nature so popular, that opposition to its enactment would have characterized the adventure, yet a measure, which, the originator confidently expected, would have encountered the firm resistance of the first minister of the crown. This was "the corporation and test acts repeal bill;" an occasion which allowed his grace to lay before the country the true and genuine feelings of his heart, those feelings which had influenced him to spare the lives of hundreds who had transgressed the limits of military law, and which equally qualified him to encounter the most appalling dangers with no personal apprehension, but with an indescribable agony for the perils to which his brave companions were inevitably exposed.

On the seventeenth of April, 1828, after a number of petitions in favour of the measure had been presented, Lord Holland proposed the second reading of the bill. This proposition was violently opposed by Lord Eldon, who concluded an elaborate piece of argument, by expressing a fervent hope, that those who then advocated the repeal of the corporation and test acts, might find no reason, at some future day, to regret their success. His lordship having always attached himself to the party of his grace, it was concluded that their opinions, on this point, would also prove identical; but a generous heart, and extended intercourse with mankind, had so fashioned his grace's views of the liberty of conscience, that in this instance he totally dissented from his learned and

consistent friend. His grace had not manifested an early intention of speaking on the question, but the decided tone of Lord Eldon's opposition demanded his explanation of the conduct of ministers. He stated, that in his opinion, the alteration proposed by Mr. Peel in the lower house, seemed a sufficient remedy for the grievance ; and had it been accepted, the preservation of the religious peace of the country would thereby have been insured. Finding, however, that a majority of the house approved of the bill generally, he thought his coadjutors had acted wisely in co-operating with them, acquiring ample security for the church, by the amendment which had been added. He believed that the bill, so far from impairing, would strengthen and dignify the established church, which looked not to that measure for its permanence. The security of the Church of England, and its union with the state, depended upon the oath taken by the sovereign, to which all subjects, in their respective stations, were parties ; and not on that oath solely, but on the act of settlement, and different other acts passed at various periods. His grace doubted much the amount of security afforded through the means of a system of exclusion from office, to be made effective by a law which it was necessary to suspend by an annual act, that admitted every man into office whom it had been the intention of the framers of that law to exclude. It was not the intention of those who framed the suspension-act, to admit dissenters into corporations, but it was known that they availed themselves of the relaxation, by which the contemplated security was destroyed ; and at that time, there were corporations existing composed entirely of dissenters. The repeal of laws so inoperative could not affect the security of the Church of England. They had failed completely in answering their original purpose ; they were anomalous in their origin, and absurd in their operation. It was argued that the existing laws had given religious peace to the country for forty years : the country had certainly never been disturbed, nor the question then before the house agitated ; but it had been now fully discussed in the other house of parliament, carried there by a

large majority, and opposed only by a small minority; amongst the many petitions presented on the occasion, this contributed to demonstrate that religious rancour and animosity could alone be generated by a perseverance in the existing laws, and the contrary results might be expected to arise from a departure from them. Upon such grounds his grace recommended the adoption of the measure as a duty, and as including a security for the maintenance of the church more than equivalent for that which he advised them to abandon.

The declaration of the duke was heard with breathless attention, and found the most unqualified approbation: those who regretted this manifestation of liberality, were nevertheless compelled to acknowledge it; those who anticipated such an announcement, rejoiced in its effects. The bench of bishops, with few exceptions, acknowledged that the law of exclusion could not be maintained upon principle; and Lord Goderich protested, "that whenever that bill should become law, the Church of England would present one of the most majestic spectacles that could be imagined, to the admiring eyes of men."

The order of the day for going into committee on the test and corporation acts repeal bill, being moved on the twenty-first of April, Lord Eldon continued to give it the most strenuous opposition. He begged the house to recollect, that for a period of nearly two centuries those acts had existed without any alteration, and the Church of England continued to be preserved; even the subject itself remained at rest, until the march of intellect so suddenly prevailed upon their lordships to disturb it. In the petitions presented to the house, sacramental tests were alluded to as degrading, yet the king himself had been obliged to yield to what the petitioners impiously styled a degradation. He considered the question to be, whether the Church of England possessed more security than it ought to have? He thought not, because the constitution was formed of church and state, and existed only in their union and identity. It was evident, he contended, that the acts, which it was then sought to repeal, had been framed with a

view to preserve that alliance, which, in truth and fact, formed the constitution. He declared he never would become a party to a separation between church and state, a union which the wisdom of our ancestors had made; which had lasted for ages, and produced the happiness, not only of this country, but, he firmly believed, of every part of the world. All that he wished, or hoped, or prayed was, that he might never see the destruction of that constitution, under which England had been great, glorious, happy; and that when his time was over, (and it could not then but be brief,) that he might leave posterity in possession of it, as the choicest blessing which the world could bestow.

This speech of Lord Eldon could not fail of receiving that attention to which his extensive legal learning, long public services, and known integrity, had entitled him; but the house had been predisposed to grant the boon, so that his lordship's reasonings made no convert to his opinions. The Duke of Wellington, however, thought it necessary to give a still further explanation of his dissent, on this important point, from the ex-chancellor, as well as to offer a distinct reply to the observations of Lord Falmouth, which rested on Lord Eldon's speech. He said "he had not called on the house to pass the bill because it had passed the commons, that was only one of the reasons which induced him to recommend it: there were others that operated on his mind. Many individuals of high eminence in the church, and who were as much interested as any persons in the kingdom in the preservation of the constitution, had expressed themselves as being favourable to an alteration in the law. The religious feelings of those reasonable persons disposed them to entertain this measure, because they felt strong objections to the sacramental test. Under these circumstances, wishing to advance and to preserve the blessings of religious peace and tranquillity, conceiving it to be a good opportunity for securing to the country so inestimable an advantage—he had felt it to be his duty to recommend the measure to the house. These were the grounds on which he supported the bill, and not for the solitary reason that it

had passed through the house of commons. *He was not one of those who considered that the best means of preserving the constitution of the country, was by adhering to measures which had been called for by particular circumstances, because they had been in existence for two hundred years, since the lapse of time might render it proper to modify, if not to remove them altogether.* He hoped no unnecessary alterations would be made in the measure, calculated to produce dissatisfaction—that no interference would take place which would be likely to disturb that conciliating spirit which was obviously growing up—a spirit that would redound to the benefit of the country, and which, so far from opposing, they ought, on the contrary, to do everything to foster and promote.” The sentiments expressed by the duke, in this declaration, appear irreconcilable with his subsequent conduct on the great question of parliamentary reform, but are obviously explicable on the principle, that a particular or local infirmity does not necessarily demand a total change of constitution for its relief. His grace’s liberal views were warmly applauded by Earl Grey, who expressed his approbation of the course adopted by ministers on this question, which he stated to have much increased his confidence in the duke’s government. The bench of bishops, relying on his grace’s known attachment to Protestantism, seem to have placed their judgment entirely under his control; and the influence of his high character in the house of lords, procured the support of several other members of that assembly, whose private opinions were diametrically opposed to concessions of this nature. Lord Eldon, however, tenaciously held on by those high-church maxims that had formed the rule of his life; and, believing that this invasion of the ancient institutions of the country would lead to a species of revolution, he did not hesitate to oppose the illustrious premier, his private friend, with the same fearlessness which he had for so many years exhibited on the tribunal of justice. He proposed to introduce two clauses: the first declaring “that the protestant religion, as professed in England, was established permanently and inviolably;” the second

“ that all persons becoming members of corporations should declare themselves Protestants.” The latter clause, he assured their lordships, was necessary, because, should the bill become law, Roman Catholics would be admissible into corporations, when the church did not expressly forbid it. His grace opposed both clauses, stating that his only object was to do away with the sacramental test as a qualification for office; but that, in giving his support to the bill, it was not his intention to pledge himself to any step, either on one side or the other, as to the Catholic question. He also protested against the first clause, as injurious to the interests of officers in the army and navy. As to the omission of the words, “ on the true faith of a Christian,” proposed by the Earl of Winchelsea, with a view, he supposed, of admitting Jews into office; as he did not think it was the object of the bill to include that class, and as it would be a more correct course to bring that new principle fairly forward, and obtain its recognition, if such were the pleasure of this country, he objected wholly to such omission on the third reading of the bill. It was proposed to introduce the words “ I am a Protestant,” in the declaration. Firmly resolved to carry his object triumphantly, the duke resisted this clause with even more success than the preceding one: he stated that the bill had for its aim to enlarge, not to contract, the privileges of dissenters; and certainly it would not be just to introduce into such a measure a clause that would militate against Roman Catholics. There was no person in that house whose feelings and sentiments, after long consideration, were more decided than his were, with respect to the Roman Catholic claims; and he must say, that until he saw a great change in that question, he should oppose it; but no man, on the other hand, was more determined than he was, to give his vote against any proposition, which, like the present, appeared to have for its object a fresh enactment against the Roman Catholics.

There are some circumstances connected with the passing of this, the first decided reform in the old protestant institutions of England, that are remarkable, as connected with the

Duke of Wellington. He was opposed by the most steady adherents of his previous policy, and supported by several amongst the nobility, whose opinions had never coincided with his, but whose favour he appeared to have conciliated during his recent visit to the north. He has been represented by the public journals of that period, as having, on this occasion, declared himself decidedly hostile to the claims of the Roman Catholics; whereas, in the most correct parliamentary reports that survive,* it will be seen, that he observed the most guarded manner, the most remarkable caution, in the terms he employed, and the sentiments he expressed, as to that particular subject. He did not say, that he was hostile to the Roman Catholic claims, but that his opinion was unchanged, and it has already been shown what that opinion was, as early as the year 1793, namely, their admission to power upon securities. He now acknowledged a fact, which escaped the notice of the house, that if such a change should still take place in that quarter, it would be attended with a corresponding change in his opinion. His grace must have made personal sacrifices of no common kind, when he placed himself in opposition to the Earl of Eldon and the Duke of Cumberland; and it is hardly possible to suppose that he was not prepared for still greater trials, at a future period, for, his opinion on the Roman Catholic question must certainly have been formed at this period.

And now those changes, to which the duke alluded, and which could not have meant any essential alteration in Roman Catholic doctrines, but referred solely to the conduct of those persons who kept the Irish people in a state of the most extravagant excitation, were about to receive the serious attention of the legislature. Before the direct proposition to emancipate, in an unqualified manner, all Roman Catholic subjects of the United Kingdom, various motions relating to the agitated state of the country, were brought under the notice of parliament; but whatever the opposition suggested, independent of any real consideration of its value, was

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. xix.

rejected, because it originated with the opposition, while government proposed nothing definite for the relief of that country.—The Earl of Darnley, suggested the introduction of a modified poor-rate, as an immediate and permanent remedy for many of the hardships to which the Irish poor were exposed, an opinion then maintained by the ablest political economists of that period.—The Duke of Wellington showed the fallacy of Lord Darnley's views, stated that the burden of the poor-laws in England was attributable to the clause which obliged each parish to find work for able-bodied men, a clause which would prove ruinous to landed property, if applied to the Irish poor; and concluded by recommending the mover not to agitate the question, unless he was prepared to submit some practicable plan, adapted to the circumstances of Ireland.—The motion was negatived as a matter of course.

Amongst the acts of justice and generosity, to which the character of Wellington must for ever maintain an equitable claim, none at this period reflect more honour upon their author, than his proposition of a pension for the family of Mr. Canning. Decidedly, openly opposed to that minister's government, he had never betrayed the slightest feeling of personality towards the eminent individual himself, or towards any of his coadjutors in office; although they had not spared his grace, nor hesitated to attribute to him unworthy motives, in their explanations and complaints in both houses, as well as when they were stripped of power. Unable to provoke the noble-minded man, or induce him to betray himself into the utterance of an ungracious sentence, they abandoned their vain design, and became at last silent spectators of his labours. On the fifth of June, 1828, he moved the second reading of the pension act amendment bill, for the purpose of recommending that a provision should be made for the family of the late Mr. Canning. In performing this magnanimous part, having eulogized that eloquent senator, and detailed his public services, his grace added, "It was well known that the salaries of high officers, in this country, were inadequate to defray the expenses into which they who filled

those offices were obliged to enter. That might be good policy ; but it was clear, that when a person like Mr. Canning, with but a small fortune, was called upon to perform the duties of a high office, he must either perform them inadequately, or live in a manner unfit for a person holding such an office, or find some other means besides the emolument of his office for supporting his dignity. Mr. Canning had been obliged to expend those funds, which were destined for the support of his family. Had that able senator, instead of entering the public service, adhered to the profession for which he had been educated, and for which he was so well qualified, there was no doubt he would have risen to eminence in it, and would have left his family in a state of affluence. Mr. Canning had also been called on by his country, to resign the governor-generalship of India, and undertake the duties of first minister of England; had he declined that exchange, he would, in all probability, have still been living, and in the possession of such a competency as would have rendered anxiety for his family unnecessary. The king had conferred a small pension on the lamented minister, an act of grace which, he pledged himself to the house, had never been solicited, directly or indirectly, by Mr. Canning ; but, as he had never been out of office, from the granting of the pension to his death, he had never received any advantage from the benevolence of his sovereign. Under these circumstances, he begged that the house would empower the king to do that which he would have done, if the pension act had never existed. The bill would have passed unanimously without the duke's advocacy, Mr. Canning's services and genius being acknowledged universally by his country; but this fact must not detract from the praise to which such generous sentiments, as those which influenced his grace, justly entitle him.

The repeal of the test and corporation act was assented to and supported by the Duke of Wellington, from a feeling that its continuance would only mark the illiberality of the times; Lord Eldon regarded it as the first step in a series of encroachments upon the power of the crown and the aristocracy,

by the third estate. Had his grace suspected in any degree that such a contingency could possibly attend the motion, he would have been the last person of his order to have given ground. That Lord Eldon's political perception was, in this instance, more acute than that of the premier, the flow of events has fully demonstrated. The enactment of this measure of concession to the dissenters was quickly succeeded by a degree of agitation, and excitement, amongst the Irish Roman Catholics, such as never had been known at any former period. It was now seen, that "increase of appetite had grown by what it fed on," that the poet's maxim, "*multa petentibus multa desunt*," was applicable to political cupidity, and the favourable reception, which the claims of the Catholics met from the commons, proved the gradual advance which their cause had made, under the advocacy of Grattan, and the rapid growth of what are called liberal principles in the imperial parliament, since the period of the legislative union with Ireland.

A deputation of Catholic delegates from Ireland, having waited on Sir Francis Burdett, and solicited his advocacy of their cause, that popular senator moved for a committee of the whole house, on the eighth of May, 1828, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. After a debate of two days' continuance, the motion was carried by two hundred and seventy-two, against two hundred and sixty-six, although a similar motion had been lost in the previous session, by a majority of four. On the sixteenth of the same month, Sir Francis, triumphing in a cause where the best talent of Britain before had failed, moved that the resolution of going into committee be communicated to the lords, in a free conference, and their concurrence be requested. The motion was agreed to, the conference held, and the resolution reported accordingly. On the ninth of June, the day appointed for taking the message of the commons into consideration, the Marquis of Lansdown commenced that memorable debate, in which the claims of the Roman Catholics received a free, fair, and full investigation, and which ended in their unqualified emancipation

from all civil disabilities. His lordship said, that in bringing forward this question, he was discharging a duty, not to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, nor the Roman Catholics of England, but to the whole country, Protestant as well as Catholic. The measure had been recommended by the most shining talents, and by the dying breath, of our greatest statesmen, when looking forward to the future destinies of their country. It was not, therefore, a new question, but it was now introduced under circumstances which were new. It came before them then for the third time, and with the express recommendation of the commons of England. He knew of no country, in which similar disqualifications to those affecting the Roman Catholics of this empire were in existence. The noble marquis entered into a detailed and interesting account of the situation in which Catholics were placed in the United States of America, in Russia, Poland, Prussia, Saxony under a Catholic sovereign, and in Holland under a Protestant. In these, and several other countries, Catholics, Romans and Greeks, held offices together without injury, danger, or discord. The same principles of religious liberty predominated in them all, and the state was only on that account the more peaceful and secure. He trusted there was nothing in the Church of England calculated to render it unsafe in circumstances, not only compatible with, but conducive to, the security of other national churches.

These views were opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others of the episcopal bench, and also by the Earl of Winchelsea, the rectitude of whose motives was never questioned, even by those who differed totally from his political views. This uncompromising assertor of Protestant supremacy in these kingdoms declared, that the Roman Catholics retained their ancient intolerance and superstition,—that with respect to the privileges accorded to Roman Catholics in many Protestant states on the continent, that argument should have all the weight to which it was entitled, if it could be shown that any one of those countries had preserved practical freedom, and an upright and impartial administration of justice, to the

same extent which this country had done, and for anything like the same period. But no such Protestant country could be found. He would oppose this motion, from a conviction that, if adopted, it would lead to the subversion of that constitution, under which the country had arrived at unequalled prosperity, and enjoyed unequalled liberty.—The Duke of Gloucester thought that the prosperity of this empire, and the stability of the throne, depended on the repeal of the Catholic disabilities; but the Duke of Cumberland (king of Hanover) said, that as the repeal of the test act had occasioned a tremendous feeling in the country, it was desirable to avoid further disturbance of the public mind by further innovations on the constitution. He disregarded the threatened character of bigot, while he felt that a sense of duty was the only motive of his opposition.

The debate continued during a second day, at the close of which the motion was negatived by a majority of forty-four. Before it closed, the Duke of Wellington took an opportunity of addressing the house in language remarkable, yet obscure; the explanation of which was subsequently discovered, when his political adroitness secured to him, and him only, that victory over settled opinions, which had for so many years eluded the best efforts of the brightest senatorial talents. His grace rose next after the Marquis Wellesley, who had, during a long and anxious public life, eloquently advocated Roman Catholic claims, and said, “I feel particular concern at being under the necessity of following my noble relative, and of stating that I differ in opinion from him, whom I so dearly love, and for whose opinions I entertain so much respect and deference. I cannot, however, consent to the view he has taken, but shall state my own, hoping that in the end we shall not be found to differ in reality from each other. My noble brother says, our security will be found in the removal of the sureties which now exist. I say, that the securitics which we enjoy, and which for a length of time we have enjoyed, are indispensable to the safety of the church and state. I have been charged with having, in former debates, expressed appre-

nation, his grace was appealed to by every public body, professing to be the promoters of any generally useful object. In the year 1825, Campbell the poet had addressed a letter to Lord Brougham, upon the subject of an economical and extended education for the middle classes, to be established in London, and to be called the "London University." Ever zealous in the pursuit of literature, his lordship lent the aid of his shining talents to aid the still further diffusion of knowledge; and, on the thirtieth of April, 1827, he had the happiness to see the first stone of this new public school laid by the Duke of Sussex, attended by the Duke of Norfolk, and several other individuals distinguished for their patronage of the diffusion of learning. Political feeling, however, seemed to be mingled with the sentiments in which the foundation of this school originated, or else to have become associated with its name, as it progressed to completion; but, even with this sin upon its head, the London University might have escaped the sneers of the Tory party in the kingdom, had its directors been wise enough to have set up a divinity-chair in their institution. This omission in the capital of a christian community, and in a seminary founded, endowed, and patronized by individuals professing the Christian religion, seemed, to every churchman, wholly unpardonable; calculated to diminish public reverence for religion generally; and, consequently, to lower the eminent standard of morality in England. To obviate the impending danger, a public meeting was called at the Freemason's Tavern, in London, on the twenty-first of June, 1828, at which the Duke of Wellington presided, for the purpose of founding a school, in the metropolis, for the education of youth, on the principles of the established church. This decided step stamped the London University, at once, with a distinctive character, and acted as the elevation of a standard, round which all churchmen were expected to range themselves. However obvious the error of establishing a college, school, or place for the education of youth, in the heart of a populous city, the enthusiasm in which the rival schools originated attracted a number of supporters sufficient to sustain the

fabrics. On the first of October in the year 1828, the London University, in Gower street, was opened for the reception of pupils, and, on the sixteenth of May, in the following year, Lord Bexley informed the subscribers to the King's College, London, that government had granted the plot of ground, originally intended for the east-wing of Somerset House, as the site of the intended school, free of expense, for one thousand years, on condition that the architecture of the new erection should correspond with the front elevation of the edifice in the strand. In this grant, the feeling of the existing government towards the infant seminary was obvious, and few can regret the manifestation of their preference for a school, where the religion of the gospel constituted the basis of instruction, to one from which that sacred volume was excluded. The Duke of Wellington, amidst his many avocations, found leisure to attend at every public meeting connected with the foundation of King's College, London, until that institution acquired all the strength, maturity, and permanence, which the illustrious founder and his associates ever could have anticipated.

From the patronage, protection, and promotion of Christianity amongst the youth of Britain, the duke's attention was attracted by the lowly call of humanity, a voice which had never appealed to him in vain. On the twenty-third of June, the Earl of Grosvenor, (first Marquis of Westminster,) presented to the lords a petition from the inhabitants of Chester, which afforded them an opportunity of expressing those feelings for their suffering fellow-creatures, which had been too long dormant in British breasts. If his lordship had been influenced by the least desire to inconvenience the government, by acceding to the amiable wishes of his contented and happy tenantry in Cheshire, he must indeed have been unacquainted with the sentiments, principles, and past life of the illustrious duke; for, while mercy and humanity claim for Clarkson and Wilberforce the earliest right to the benediction of the liberated captives, the efforts of those inestimable men had been as vain as those of weakness against strength, had they not been

sincerely seconded by the personal influence of the Duke of Wellington with the sovereigns of Europe.

This petition, from the citizens of Chester, alluded solely to slavery in the West Indies, and one of its apparent objects was to chide the tardiness of ministers in not carrying out the generous wishes of the British people. His grace assured the house, that the existing administration had proceeded "gradually, so as to keep in view the peace and tranquillity of the colonies, and the property and prosperity of all classes of the inhabitants. With respect to the irritation displayed by Jamaica and other West India colonies, it was natural for men to be irritable, who thought their property likely to be seriously affected by the measures in contemplation; still it was the duty of government to persevere in executing the wishes of parliament, until they were complied with—a compliance no less necessary for the advantage of the colonial proprietors, than of the slave population under them. Jamaica had adopted a great part of the principle recommended by the government at home; and the colony of St. Christopher had gone some way in the same path. Considering the prejudices naturally interwoven with West Indian views of this subject, it was more wonderful to behold the progress already made, than fair to express any strong censure for what remained to be done in furtherance of the object. Manumission would be adopted, but in so nice and complicated a consideration, the mode of acting should be regulated by contingent circumstances. Within a single year, there had been no less than four gentlemen in the office of secretary for the colonies, so that it was actually impossible for government to arrive at a safe conclusion, or give a practicable application to a principle upon which they were bound to act. As to the general state of the slave-trade, notwithstanding the treaties for its limitation or suppression, which Great Britain had already made with every maritime state in the world, it was melancholy to be obliged to admit, that it was still carried on to a lamentable extent. The subject was still surrounded by difficulties. England had spared neither pains nor expense to arrange these treaties; yet he was

afraid it would appear at that moment, that more slaves were borne away from Africa, (not, however, into the British colonies,) than were exported from thence before the abolition. As to the courts of arbitration at Sierra Leone, they were very active; about a hundred cases had been brought before them in the course of a few years; about twelve thousand slaves had, through their agency, been set at liberty, at an expense of nearly 16,000*l.* per annum. If they had not been as effectual as could have been wished, no blame was to be attached to the individuals engaged in them, who were certainly both zealous and active. With respect to the people of colour, regulations had been framed in Jamaica, for enabling them to enjoy certain privileges, and hold certain situations, in common with the white inhabitants."

On the first of July, Earl Grey brought forward a petition against the withdrawal of the small-note currency, as calculated to produce a sudden and ruinous depression of wages, and militate grievously against the comforts and happiness of the poorer classes. His views, and those of the petitioners whom he represented, were combated by the Duke of Wellington, who stated, emphatically, his conviction, that the measure of 1826 was one of sound policy, that it struck at the root of the cancer, and would produce complete extirpation; that it would finally substitute a wholesome currency for a fictitious, ruinous system of credit. His grace entered into a most careful and minute arithmetical statement of the amount issued in one-pound notes, by the Banks of England, Ireland, and Scotland, in a given time, and proceeded to demonstrate, which he did to the satisfaction of a majority, that the amount of gold then in circulation, upwards of twenty-eight millions, was sufficient for the demand of the nation.

Having disposed, in an able manner, of the difficult question which then agitated society in England, the currency, his grace was called on to defend the policy of ministers with respect to our foreign relations, especially with Turkey, Greece, and Portugal. This subject was introduced into the upper house by Lord Holland, in a speech of a studied

character, rather calculated to harass by pointed interrogatories, than to promote the national welfare by generous, manly advice, as to the mode in which the ship of state might right herself. As few men were more practised in taunting their political opponents, so none had more entirely forfeited the value of that liberty, and, when the premier rose to explain the conduct of ministers in foreign policy, his luminous exposition was directed to the great broad question of the interests of the country, disregarding those remarks that had been made ostentatiously, with a view to embarrass the ministers of the crown. His grace admitted that Lord Holland had exercised a sound discretion, in not bringing this question before the house at an earlier period, and he claimed the merit of equal prudence on the part of the government, for not obtruding it. When the transactions alluded to had been brought to a conclusion, the house might ask for information, nor would they find their solicitations unanswered, for the fullest information should then be afforded. At that moment, disclosure would be fatal to the success of their diplomacy. With respect to the proceedings in the East, since he became connected with the government of the country, which then extended over a period of fourteen years, it had been his most anxious wish, and that of all Europe, to preserve peace between Russia and Turkey. He spoke in the presence of those who could bear testimony to the truth of his statement. He was authorized, also, to state, that Russia did not desire the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. The transaction in which he was personally engaged, was founded upon a desire to maintain peace between these great empires, the preservation of peace was the *sine quâ non* of any arrangement that might be entered into. He was absolutely forbidden to make any arrangements with respect to Greece, if measures of force, or violence, were the means by which that object was to be effected. Lord Holland had said, "If that was the case, then ministers must have deceived the emperor,"—now, the fact was, the emperor had seen the instructions—they had been shown to him by the duke himself, and it was there expressly

laid down, that every exertion should be made to prevent the occurrence of hostilities. His lordship had also termed the ministers a set of drivellers, for hoping to carry such an arrangement into effect, without the aid of time. Possibly they had been deceived on this point, but before such a decision was formed, it was but just to view the situation of Turkey and Greece when the mediation was proposed. For six successive years, a war, insignificant, perhaps, as to the numerical amount of troops engaged, but most ferocious in character, had been carried on. The Greek navy was superior to the Turkish, and several Turkish armies were wholly cut off in the Morea. In such a state of things, the British cabinet thought there was every chance of mediating successfully between the contending parties; and it was hoped, above all, that the originator of this regulation, Russia, aided by this country, might have secured a peace between Greece and Turkey. "Peace was the object then; peace was the object of the treaty in the July previous; peace was the object when he and his colleagues came into the government at the beginning of the year; and to restore peace, was the object at that moment.

"If he and his coadjutors had failed, it was owing to circumstances, over which they had no control—to circumstances that had happened six weeks before the delivery of the king's speech, and before the existing administration had been formed. The war in which the emperor of Russia had recently engaged caused a material change in the affairs of the East, and much influenced the negotiations then pending,—it interfered very seriously with the arrangements in progress for the settlement of the Greco-Turkish question." His grace proceeded to speak of the misconduct, treachery, and treason of Don Miguel; he stated, that an ambassador at Lisbon had sent away the money borrowed in England, by the prince-regent of Portugal, through the aid of the British government, and that the British troops had been recalled from Portugal the moment Don Miguel's intention to overturn the institutions of his country became known; and, when at length the traitor threw off his disguise,

and declared his intention of usurping the crown of his brother, and assuming the title of king, the diplomatic relations between this country and Portugal were broken off, and the British ambassador quitted Lisbon. As to the blockade of Oporto, his grace contended that it had been notified to England sufficiently, although not with that regularity of form which international laws demand, and that he considered it the duty of this country to respect it. "No man," he said, "could regret more than he did, the situation into which Portugal had been brought,—no man could feel more strongly the advantages resulting from an alliance with Portugal. But, having looked into all the treaties, and considered all the transactions which had taken place between the two countries, under those treaties in former times, as well as in recent times, and particularly within the previous thirty years, he felt convinced that we should not be justified in taking any part in the internal measures of the Portuguese government. Within the preceding six years, he could instance occasions, on which the most pointed refusal had been given, by this country, to guarantee a constitution to Portugal, or to interpose its aid in supporting a constitution there, or to interfere in any manner with the internal concerns of the kingdom of Portugal." His grace asserted that "although we acknowledged the sovereignty of Don Pedro, and subsequently recognized that of his youthful daughter, we did not know under what circumstances he might choose to assert either his own or his daughter's right to the throne; and his conduct on that point must necessarily govern that to be pursued by Great Britain." The explanation of his grace, and the motives which appeared to have actuated him in abstaining, at that period, from interference in the internal state of Portugal, afforded a complete answer to Lord Holland's queries, and the utmost satisfaction to the house; a result which led to the rejection of his lordship's motion for the production of papers relative to our foreign relations.

A few days after the disposal of the Portuguese question, the third reading of the national debt bill was moved by Lord Bexley. His lordship, in stating the object of the bill before the

house, the design of which was to limit the issues to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, to three millions for that year, (1828) went into an elaborate defence of the steps taken by Mr. Pitt for the establishment of a sinking-fund, and recommended the Duke of Wellington to preserve the machinery of that invention. The duke, who had devoted the greatest and most careful attention to questions of finance, in the early years of his life, approved unequivocally of the report of the finance committee, which was in accordance with the opinion of Lord Bexley, and declared, "that the report then presented, contained more information on the question, than had ever been laid before parliament; he was satisfied that the house would perceive in that report, an ample proof of the extent and solidity of the resources of the country, and of the benefit which had resulted from a perseverance, as long as it was possible, in the plan adopted by Mr. Pitt for the redemption of the national debt." His grace particularly noticed the vast resources which had been provided to support the great exertions made during the late war, and he adverted to the facility with which those resources had been provided, in consequence of that sinking-fund which Lord Bexley had so much lauded. It was not then necessary to point out in detail how the sinking fund had worked; but he thought it should not remain unnoticed, that the interest paid upon all sums borrowed during the course of that war, exceeded, by little, five per cent; and this fact could only be attributed to that sinking-fund which had been so much abused. His grace hoped that the discussion which had then taken place, would convince parliament that the salvation of the country depended upon the establishment of an efficient sinking-fund for the payment of the national debt. With this debate upon the limitation of the sum to be granted to the commissioners for the liquidation of the national debt, the session may be said to have terminated, in which the labours of his grace, and of his coadjutors, were attended with entire success, and the general applause of the country.

The prorogation of parliament was, as usual in this brief reign, by commission, on the twenty-eighth of July, when the

Lord Chancellor read the royal speech. The general topics alluded to, for the purpose of completing a certain number of lines, without any apparent desire to convey information to the country—were, the declaration of war by Russia against Turkey, the continued efforts of the allied powers for the liberation of Greece, and the treason and infamy of Don Miguel,—subjects with which the public had previously been very fully acquainted. It cannot fail to excite surprise, that every notice or allusion to the agitated state of Ireland, then more convulsed than she had been for centuries, by the idea of political slavery, was cautiously excluded from the royal speech. As this document is supposed to be the production of the minister, rather than of the sovereign, its omissions, as well as introductions, are necessarily supposed to be directed by that responsible servant of the state. It is impossible that such violent and public proceedings could have taken place without attracting the duke's attention; no movement of any importance, in any part of the kingdom, escaped his wakeful vigilance, so that it may be confidently concluded, the silence of the speech from the throne, relative to the political disturbances in Ireland, was studied and intentional. Attention is drawn to this point in this place, to prove that the plans of the premier for the successful accomplishment of his meditated measure of Roman Catholic emancipation, were then contemplated, and that the only effect, which the return of Mr. O'Connell for the county of Clare, can be supposed to have produced, was an acceleration of his grace's objects, in order to avoid raising any question upon the validity of that election.

When Mr. O'Connell offered himself a candidate for the representation of Clare, in opposition to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, he stated, that "if the electors would return him as their representative, he would take his seat in the house of commons, and he would defy any man or body of men to expel him thence." He rested his claim on the act of Union, and expressed his resolution to contest his own right and that of the Catholics of Ireland, inch by inch, with the most unflinching perseverance; he was prepared, he said, to demonstrate his right, grounded on the act of union; and to shew that there

was no law in existence excluding a Catholic from parliament,—from which it followed, that his exclusion from parliament would be a violation of the act of Union. It would require, he contended, an act of parliament to put him out; meanwhile he would have the advantage and opportunity of speaking and voting against it.”

The contest ended in the return of Mr. O’Connell, by a majority of one thousand and seventy-five over his opponents. It does not appear that the learned lawyer was acquainted with the precedent of the quaker, who had been returned to the English parliament nearly a century before, by a large majority of votes. This cautious individual, immediately after his election, wrote a letter to the speaker, informing him of his return, and inquiring whether he was at liberty to take his seat in consequence. To this application no reply was ever returned, and the Quaker concluded, in pursuance, that persons of his peculiar opinions were excluded from that assembly. This conclusion he lived to learn was incorrect, for the speaker subsequently stated, that although he declined answering a written communication upon so delicate a question, had the Quaker member presented himself to the house, it would not have been in his power to have refused him admission; such a step, if ever taken, must have originated in a special motion for his expulsion, by some member of the house. Although apparently unacquainted with the Quaker precedent, the Roman Catholic member properly abstained from writing; but the victory, which he promised himself and his country, was frustrated, by his own hesitation in taking his seat, and by the activity of the premier in accelerating a prorogation of parliament.

Silently regarding the political revolutions, both at home and in foreign lands, and secretly laying the most secure and certain schemes for the establishment of those measures, upon which he believed the tranquillity of Ireland, and therefore of the empire, to rest, the premier was still far from being absorbed in political, to the exclusion of private considerations. On the very day on which the forty-shilling freeholders were pro-

claiming their triumph over the laws, in the county of Clare, the Duke of Wellington was pleading the cause of practical science, at a meeting of the subscribers to the Thames Tunnel, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, in London. The object had nothing of a public nature in its character; it was one of those extensive speculations, for the acquisition of rapid wealth, which have recently arisen in England; one of the contingencies of which is the encouragement of scientific knowledge, as applied to the improvement of arts, manufactures, and intercourse; and it was to promote these objects, the illustrious premier attended the meeting of shareholders, in the Thames Tunnel speculation. The Duke of Cambridge having taken the chair, the Duke of Wellington arose amidst long-continued cheering, and said, "that the scientific work which constituted the subject of their anxious consideration, was a magnificent undertaking, one which he trusted would be commemorated in future histories of this country, and of its importance, in a civil and military point of view. The original estimate had been two hundred thousand pounds; of this sum one hundred and eighty thousand had, up to to that period, been expended in prosecuting the work;" and his grace then held in his hand a second estimate of an amount, equal to the original one, which it was proposed to raise upon debentures. Whatever the design really wanted in genuine merit and public utility, was compensated for, on this occasion, by the warm advocacy of the greatest subject in these realms, and the most celebrated character in the history of this empire. But it must be observed, that his view of the question was based, not upon the narrow ground of aiding the objects of an association of speculators, but solely on that of promoting practical science, to which he conceived the completion of the Thames tunnel would assuredly contribute. Having concluded his remarks, he immediately put down his name for five hundred pounds; and in a few minutes the subscription was declared to have reached five thousand pounds sterling.

After the fatigues of the session, his grace visited Cheltenham; a favourite retreat of his in hours of leisure; and there

he was received with a repetition of those plaudits, and public marks of admiration, which he had before experienced from the warm-hearted people of that vicinity. On the twenty-sixth of August, a splendid ball was given in honour of the illustrious hero, at the assembly-rooms, which was attended by upwards of five hundred persons of rank and fortune; and at which his grace was present. In the centre of the saloon, his grace's arms were emblazoned in coloured chalks, and a lion rampant, with a flag-staff in his fore paw, the Wellington crest, was placed at each end of the ball-room. The avenue to the public room, was decorated with laurels, and shone brightly with myriads of variegated lamps, while a grand triumphal arch was erected over the spacious door by which the hero entered the principal apartment. The Cheltenham press of that period asserted, in the most unqualified terms, that no entertainment, of equal splendour or costliness, had ever before been given in that favourite and fashionable town.

CHAP. IV.

THE TORIES BECOME DISCONTENTED WITH THE LIBERAL POLICY OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—THEIR SECESSION FROM THE WELLINGTON MINISTRY—CORRESPONDENCE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON WITH DR. CURTIS—DUEL BETWEEN THE DUKE AND THE EARL OF WINCHELSEA—NOBLE CONDUCT OF THE LATTER—THE WHIGS, BY THEIR DESERTION OF THE DUKE IN HIS LIBERAL VIEWS, CONTRIVE TO EMBARRASS HIS ADMINISTRATION—THE DUKE ALONE THE AUTHOR OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM AGITATED—THE DUKE'S PUBLIC DECLARATION AGAINST THE MEASURE—GENERAL EXCITEMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY—THE KING'S VISIT TO THE CITY ABANDONED—VIOLENT CONDUCT OF BOTH PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT—THE DUKE, FINDING OPPOSITION TO THE PROGRESS OF REFORM VAIN, RESIGNS OFFICE—THE REFORM BILL PASSED BY THE ABILITIES AND EXERTIONS OF EARL GREY ALONE—EARL GREY RESIGNS TO LORD MELBOURNE, WHOSE ADMINISTRATION IS SUCCEEDED BY THAT OF SIR ROBERT PEELE.—1828—1835.

It is material to the integrity of the Duke's character, both as a statesman and a private individual, that his conduct, at the close of the year 1828 and opening of 1829, should be carefully analyzed and displayed. For this purpose, his clearly expressed opinions, on his first entrance into the Irish parliament, relative to his Roman Catholic countrymen, and which have already been fully quoted, should be held in mind. His oft-repeated sentiments of a *liberal tendency*, after he became vested with political power—his cautious language in every address to parliament, in a ministerial capacity—his explicit and unqualified approval and support of the test and corporation repeal act, demonstrate, indisputably, the true direction of his unbiassed opinion and judgment. During the year 1828, secret inquiries were made amongst the Irish members, as to the real feeling of the Irish gentry on the question of Roman Catholic emancipation; and their opinions sought, divested of party feeling, as to the advisability of conceding further privileges, or rather total emancipation, to that portion of his majesty's subjects. In addition to this cautious and most anxious investigation, originating in the noblest possible motives, the Duke of Wellington maintained a correspondence with Dr. Curtis, the Roman Catholic primate of Ireland, upon

the same much-agitated question; and, although his grace does not in that correspondence expressly state his intention of making the Catholic relief bill a cabinet question, he yet speaks in such a tone, as led many to suppose that which was ultimately proved to be the fact, namely, that he had held that great object, for some time previously, in his most serious contemplation.

The intimacy that existed between Dr. Curtis and his grace, to which this extraordinary correspondence is to be attributed, commenced during the Peninsular war, in the valuable services rendered by the reverend gentleman to the British army at Salamanca. From that period the duke had continued to treat him with the utmost kindness, and he owed his elevation to the Irish Catholic primacy to his grace's recommendation and interest. It need not, therefore, excite surprise, that in the then agitated state of Ireland, arising from difference of religious opinions solely, Dr. Curtis should have pleaded the cause of his brethren with his illustrious patron, then the first subject in this empire. It also furnishes an additional argument in favour of an opinion often urged in these pages; which was, that his grace had always been favourable to religious toleration; for it is highly improbable that the Roman Catholic archbishop would have opened such a correspondence with an individual in such an eminent position, unless he had been previously aware of that individual's private sentiments on the question. He would never have been so vain as to imagine that he alone could influence the mind of the prime minister of protestant England, who had up to that period watched the progress of religious reform in these countries for nearly forty years, by any new arguments he would be able to advance, much less by such means as private influence. Dr. Curtis, most probably, anticipated the character of the reply which he should receive, when he addressed the duke on the fourth of December, 1828.*

* Reply of the Duke of Wellington to the Rev. Dr. Curtis, London, December 11, 1828. "My Dear Sir,—I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am

Contrary to the established custom of society, Dr. Curtis either circulated, or permitted to be circulated, the contents of the Duke's letter to him, from which improper transaction

sincerely anxious to witness a settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the State, would confer a benefit *upon* every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately.

"If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides, (for they are very great) I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy. Believe me, my dear Sir, ever your most faithful humble Servant—WELLINGTON."

This brief letter was acknowledged by the following piece of flattery, in which too much humility is expressed, but probably not too much gratitude, the Duke having been his constant friend and kindest benefactor.—It is dated Drogheda, December 19, 1828.

"My Lord Duke,—I have never been more agreeably surprised in my life than by the unexpected honour of receiving your grace's very kind and even friendly letter of the 11th instant, which, coming from so high a quarter, I should naturally wish to reserve, if possible; but as it was franked by yourself, the news of its arrival was known all over this town (as might be expected from a provincial post-office,) before the letter reached my hands: so that I was obliged, in your grace's defence and my own, to communicate its contents to a few chosen friends, for the satisfaction of the multitude, who might otherwise fabricate, in its stead, some foolish, or perhaps mischievous nonsense of their own. But, fortunately, your grace's letter contained only such liberal and benevolent sentiments as all parties must eulogize, and none could possibly malign. Besides, it very seasonably strengthens the testimony, that I, as a faithful witness, have on all occasions given of your generous, upright, and impartial disposition.

"It would be somewhat worse than ridiculous in me, to offer anything in the shape of political advice to a consummate statesman, at the head of the first cabinet in or out of Europe; but as your grace has so humanely condescended to mention some of the difficulties tending to paralyze your efforts to settle the Roman Catholic question, I beg leave to submit to your superior judgment a few reflections, made to me by some well-informed and unbiassed friends, as well Protestants as Catholics, who certainly understand the subject much better than I can pretend to do. They have read with great pleasure and gratitude the noble declaration, in which your grace so strongly expresses your sincere anxiety to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question; which, you are convinced, would, by benefiting the state, confer a benefit on every individual of society; and you regret that you see no prospect of such a settlement, because violent party feelings are mixed up with that question, and pervade every discussion of it to such a degree, as to preclude the possi-

much inconvenience arose, amongst the most sincere friends of the Catholics, and the most high-minded individuals in the government.

bility of prevailing upon men to consider it dispassionately. But that if it could be buried in oblivion for a short time, and if that time were diligently employed in the consideration of the question, you would not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy.

“ These humane and statesman-like sentiments (as far as they go) do great honour to your grace’s head and heart, and might appear sufficient if you were a private nobleman, but not in your present exalted station, with power to wield, when necessary, all the resources of government ; for it would be a slur on the unrivalled and far-famed British Constitution to assert, that even when well administered it does not possess or supply means for establishing anything known to be essential for the peace, welfare, and tranquillity of the empire at large, and for pulling down or removing any intrigue or party spirit that might wantonly attempt to oppose so great a blessing.

“ My friends allow that such momentous exertions may be sometimes unsuccessful when government is conducted by weak or unsupported heads or hands, and that they require such a prime minister as the nation has now, and, I hope, will long have, the happiness to enjoy ; who, after an uninterrupted series of the greatest victories, and a successful arrangement of the most important interests that perhaps ever yet occurred, has been placed at the head of government by the entire and well-earned confidence of our most gracious sovereign, and with the universal applause of the whole empire, and, indeed, of all other nations. Under such a Chief, exerting his legitimate prerogative, they say that no party would dare to oppose the general good ; and that if your grace would intimate your serious resolution to settle the Roman Catholic question, its opponents would instantly fly, and appear no more : and if the settlement were once carried, it would in a few days be no more spoken or thought of than the concessions now are, that were lately made to the Dissenters ; for the enemies of such arrangement are not half so angry in reality as they now appear to be, in order by that bugbear to carry their point. But my friends have no hesitation in declaring, that the project mentioned by your grace, of burying the Catholic question in oblivion, for the purpose of considering it more at leisure, is totally inadmissible, and would exasperate in the highest degree those who are already too much excited, and would only consider that measure as a repetition of the same old pretext so often employed to elude and disappoint their hopes of redress ; but that if it even were adopted, it could only serve to augment the difficulties, by allowing the contending parties, and particularly the enemies of all concession, the opportunities they seek for preparing their means of resistance and violence, which they have latterly carried to the most alarming lengths, which they have avowed and publicly announced in atrocious and sanguinary terms ; to which, however, I should not here allude, for I never wish to be an accuser, but that I am certain your grace must have read those horrible threats, often repeated

In his administration of the affairs of Ireland, the Marquis of Anglesea had proved the most popular viceroy ever placed over the people of that country. He appeared to have formed a higher estimate of the national character than most of his predecessors; and to have taken a broad, generous, and liberal view of Irish difficulties and interests: his elevated rank and chivalrous character attracted to his court the few resident aristocracy of Dublin; while his excellency's open and avowed contempt of those distinctions that would exclude an amiable, learned, or valuable subject, from that rank and position of usefulness in which he should be placed, acquired for him the most affectionate reception, ever evinced for the representative of majesty, in that much injured country.

It was when the well-earned popularity of this gallant nobleman, in his capacity of viceroy of Ireland, appeared to have reached its highest point, that an event occurred, calculated to disappoint the hopes of the Irish people, and wound the feelings of the illustrious individual. On the twenty-second of December, Dr. Curtis, still untiring in his labours, transmitted the Duke of Wellington's letter, of the eleventh, to his excellency the lord-lieutenant, vainly accompanied by his own reply. On the following day, his excellency acknowledged the receipt of the prelate's communication, and added, "that he had not known the precise sentiments of the Duke on the state of the Catholic question; but, knowing it, he ventured to offer his opinion upon the course that it behoved

in the Brunswick and Orange prints: and to this latter subject, at least, I must beg leave to call your grace's attention, and to implore your powerful protection, humbly praying that you will not suffer public peace and concord to be violated or disturbed under any pretext whatever. An effectual remedy would cost your grace but one word. I do not, however, thereby mean to meddle in temporal affairs, but I consider it my bounden duty to labour incessantly, in concurrence with all my venerable confreres, to impress upon the minds and hearts of all those committed to our spiritual care, sentiments of true Christian charity, moderation, and kind forbearance, towards all men without exception. I beg your grace will excuse the length of this letter, and vouchsafe to consider it as a proof of my unfeigned regard, and of the sincere respect with which I have the honour to remain, my Lord Duke, your Grace's most obedient and most humble Servant—R. CURTIS."

the Catholics to pursue. His excellency said, "he differed from the duke, that an attempt should be made "to bury in oblivion the question for a short time: first, because the thing was utterly impossible; and, next, because if it were possible, he feared that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a pause produced by the late violent re-action, and by proclaiming, that if the government at once, and peremptorily, decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland would be to be re-acted." What his excellency did recommend was, that the measure should not for a moment be lost sight of—that anxiety should continue to be manifested—that all *constitutional* (in contradistinction to *merely legal*) means, should be resorted to, to forward the cause; but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated.

The violent reaction to which his excellency alluded was one of those strong manifestations of religious and political feeling, by which society in Ireland had been rent asunder during many years. It then originated in an association of Protestants, denominating themselves Brunswickers, who, by their number, respectability, and public declarations, goaded the Roman Catholic Association into a species of frenzy. The idea of a Brunswick club was obviously absurd; and no end, however trifling, was ever attained by its formation; but it grew out of a natural feeling of opposition to the association, whose debates were highly objectionable; and, however their meetings may be ridiculed, they were just as legal, but less turbulent, and infinitely less successful, than their rivals. It was to the agitation, produced by these contending associations, that Lord Anglesea ascribed that impossibility, of which he spoke, to subdue and bury those strong feelings under which all Ireland was convulsed; and no other mode existed whereby the conclusion he had drawn could be overturned, except by the granting of unqualified emancipation—an event which the whole United Kingdom looked upon as impossible, not only as long as the illustrious duke continued to direct the helm of

state, but whilst, also, George the Fourth held the sceptre of these kingdoms.

The impropriety of which Dr. Curtis had been guilty soon manifested itself, and in various ways. The Tory party were astounded at the discovery of a new popish plot, for such they denominated the private correspondence of the Duke with the Roman Catholic primate; but the ambiguous language of his grace's reply alarmed them still more. Determined to allay the ferment in his usual decided manner, he unhappily selected the noblest victim as a sacrifice to his offended dignity, and, as he conceived, to the injured confidence of great public duties. On the nineteenth of January, 1829, the Marquis of Anglesea took his departure from Dublin, having been abruptly removed from the viceroyalty; an event that was viewed, and felt, by the Irish, as a sort of national calamity. He was accompanied to the shore with every possible demonstration of respect and affection, and the strongest tokens of sincere regret. This mischievous consequence was the first-fruits of Dr. Curtis' misconduct; and, becoming at length painfully conscious of his error, he endeavoured, but too late, to rectify it, by causing a public explanation and confession of regret, to be published in the leading journals.*

The appointment of the Duke of Northumberland, the

* "To the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post.

"Sir,—As you were among the foremost, if not the first editor, that published his grace the Duke of Wellington's, and his excellency the Marquis of Anglesey's late letters to me, with my reply to the former, I expect you will have the goodness to acknowledge in the *Dublin Evening Post*, as soon as possible, that you neither had, nor know that any other has received, any sort of direct or indirect consent from me for such publication. Indeed, I regret it exceedingly, and used every means in my power, though in vain, to prevent it, as being an event that might lead those, particularly, who are unacquainted with me, into the erroneous opinion that I had betrayed the confidence reposed in me by those eminent personages, and fallen into the puerile weakness of giving uncalled-for publicity to my own answer. This was the only, but very cogent reason, that could oblige me to complain that the three documents in question had been published, which, in every other respect, I should consider as a very desirable circumstance—for they contained nothing that could give

richest British subject, to succeed the Marquis of Anglesea, was calculated to allay any suspicion which Dr. Curtis' letters might have created in the minds of the anti-Catholics, for it was *then*

offence; but were, on the contrary, calculated to produce, and have really done, a great deal of good in society at large.

"I was glad to see you assert, in the *Dublin Evening Post* of Saturday last, that you had read the Duke of Wellington's original letter alluded to above, and found it quite conformable to the copies that you and others had published of it. But as you own, at the same time, that you did not compare them together, I now request you will please to see the said original letter again (as you know where to find it), and to transcribe, for the public eye, its contents, with the most scrupulous accuracy; and should you think it necessary, or expedient, I beg you will have a legalized copy of it taken, the expense of which I shall cheerfully pay, for the satisfaction of such as may feel annoyed by the ridiculous cavils of bigoted and mercenary quibblers, whose idle threats and malicious sarcasms I should not otherwise stoop to notice.

"I am obliged to give you this trouble, because I have no longer in my possession the noble duke's and marquis's letters, which I transmitted to a most respectable, safe, and confidential friend in Dublin, better qualified than any other for proving their authenticity, and communicating their purport and meaning, with prudent caution, to sincere inquirers. Neither more nor less than this has been done on the occasion by my sagacious friend, nor by myself, while the letters remained in my hands; and I never once imagined that their benevolent authors could have any objection that their patriotic sentiments should be thus prudently, though widely extended; for they were manifestly not meant for my personal information exclusively, but for public utility and instruction: and, at all events, I wish it to be known, because it is important, that I cannot, ought not, never shall, carry on any absolutely exclusive correspondence on matters of public concern; and I should be deservedly censured if I acted otherwise, for which there could not possibly be any just and honest motive. Should these terms be disagreeable to any, they have the remedy in their own hands. Let them hold no correspondence with me, but reserve that favour for others, whom, however, I trust they will never find among the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, capable of doing anything unworthy of their sacred character and station.

"I have been reluctantly but unavoidably led to say thus much, in order, if possible, to clear away the blame most unjustly attached, by some, to me, of having published the Duke of Wellington's letter; but particularly for having elicited it, by one of my own, to which it expresses being an answer. On this subject I take leave candidly to state, that said first letter of mine alluded to, was read and approved here by several friends, at whose urgent request, but contrary to my own wish and opinion, I wrote it, praying his grace to favour the Roman Catholic cause; but I entertained so little hopes of its success, or even of its being read, much less answered by his grace, that I did not keep so much as a copy of it. Yet I perfectly recollect its whole purport.

supposed that his grace was hostile to all further concessions to the professors of that religion; a conclusion which it will subsequently appear was totally erroneous. These changes were made with that decision which characterized the duke of Wellington, both in his military and political life; he did not permit any interpretation of orders from head-quarters, which differed from the intentions of the originator; and, when the Marquis of Anglesea expressed himself independently upon the political question by which the kingdom was then agitated, he subjected himself to those consequences which were inevitable under the duke's administration. It is immaterial to the purpose to state here, that his grace must even then have himself meditated, and determined, upon the unqualified

and can with truth declare, that his grace's letter, that has made so much noise, was not so much an answer to mine, as a cautious and very limited exposition of his own generous sentiments, of which he himself has the whole merit; and I neither do, nor can, claim any. His grace's declaration has been understood by some to mean much more than it was probably intended to convey; while others labour hard to reduce it to almost nothing else than a sincere wish to rivet our chains.

"Both parties seem to be egregiously mistaken, or wish to mislead others; while some torment themselves and their readers with guesses at what has not been told us, but totally neglect what has been impressed and recommended, in the most humane and earnest manner, as absolutely necessary, both by his grace of Wellington and by our patriotic Lord Lieutenant; namely, that violence, insult, threats, and challenges to commence a bloody scene of extermination, horrid personalities, invectives, vile abuse, should cease on all sides, as only serving to disgrace and prejudice any cause, and to paralyse the effect of sound reasons and useful measures, that, far from being forbidden, are highly recommended.

"You, Mr. Conway, have always distinguished yourself, and occupied a prominent place in the ranks of conciliation, by your persevering and efficient endeavours to introduce a kindly feeling among our countrymen of every description. I hope you will continue your exertions with redoubled zeal, and will meet with due co-operation from your friends and worthy associates. For my own part, I shall ever think it my bounden duty to afford every aid in my power for a purpose so characteristically essential to the Christian religion; and I am sure I can safely answer for the well-known truly pastoral sentiments of all my venerable confreres, and for the enlightened zeal of our clergy. Hoping you will find room in your useful columns for this letter, I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant—P. CURTIS."

"Drogheda, Jan. 6, 1829."

emancipation of the Roman Catholics : for, it was not because the Marquis of Anglesea declared his abhorrence of religious intolerance, that he was so peremptorily removed from the government of Ireland, but because he spoke too boldly, and too early, and without previous concert with ministers.

So complete was the secrecy observed by the duke in his political plans for the accomplishment of the great measure of Catholic relief, that the removal of Lord Anglesea was at first viewed by the majority of the nation, as a mark of the king's displeasure at his recent change of sentiment ; and the promotion of the duke of Wellington to be governor of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, almost at the same instant, was received as an approval of ministerial measures in the highest quarter.

But the period had now arrived, when the political tactics by which the duke was enabled to draw over to his views of good government, those who had been the almost hereditary enemies of religious tolerance in England, begun to excite suspicion amongst the ablest and most noble of his followers ;—when the alternative remained to others of his party to resign their former prejudices, without consideration, or secede totally from the party with which they had undeviatingly acted ;—when the Whig, or Roman Catholic, party were to have a test of sincerity submitted to them by the most powerful of their political enemies ;—and, when the king himself was to become a party to an enactment, which would render the indissolubility of church and state an expression of ceremony solely. Concealment of motives, measures, operations, was longer impracticable ; and the duke, having reserved to himself, solely, the arrangement of those plans, by which a successful issue was to be ensured, resolved upon acquainting the nation at large.

One of the first public events, which startled the high-church party, was the resignation of his seat for Oxford, by Mr. Peel, in consequence of the altered policy which ministers intended to pursue towards Ireland. We have seldom known public men to turn completely round in their

opinions on great national questions; and few have ever possessed reputation, popularity, and individual greatness enough to withstand the consequent loss of public confidence. Mr. Peel had been chosen to represent Oxford because he had been a distinguished alumnus of that school; because he had undeviatingly advocated the permanent union of church and state; and because he had been the uncompromising opponent of Roman Catholic approaches to political power. The honourable resignation of his seat, upon this almost miraculous conversion of opinion, did not save the statesman from the indignation of the University, which immediately elected Sir Robert Inglis in his room.

The expulsion of Mr. Peel, from Oxford, however clear a manifestation of the opinion of the church party upon the meditated measure, produced no change in the Duke's onward course. He had, in his provincial tour, conciliated many political enemies, formed many new friendships, and much increased the respectful personal feeling with which he was received by the aristocracy as a body, within the walls of parliament. He supposed himself to be secure of the aid of the pro-Catholic party; and, independently of these grounds, he rested an additional claim to support upon the agitated condition of Ireland at that period. On the fifth of February, parliament was opened by commission, and, after the repetition of the usual topics, the attention of both houses was called to a convention existing in Ireland, called "the Catholic Association," which was inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, kept discord alive amongst his majesty's subjects, and which, if permitted to continue, would effectually obstruct the improvement of that country. It was then recommended to parliament to review the laws which imposed civil disabilities on the Roman Catholics, and to consider how they could be removed, consistently with the security of our establishment in church and state.

It must not be unobserved, that much stress is here laid upon the want of tranquillity in Ireland, and on the dangers that were to be apprehended from the power, and influence, of

the Catholic Association, incorrectly supposed to have been an invention of Mr. O'Connell's. Little credit will hereafter be given to the historian, who shall endeavour to prove that the existing state of Ireland had any serious influence upon the measures of the government, for, it is sufficiently obvious that the resolution of the duke had been formed long before, it is wholly absurd to suppose, that the conqueror of imperial France would yield to the clamour of a noisy conclave of demagogues; and, finally, it is untrue that *an* association had *then* sprung up, dangerous to the peace of Ireland. However possible it may be that the duke was unacquainted with the political history of his native country, it is extremely improbable that any portion, or important fact, in that history was unknown to Mr. Peel, so that the immemorial existence of such societies may be fairly pleaded as a reason why the Association of 1829 should not have created any extravagant uneasiness. In 1642, "the Confederates" met and formed themselves into a deliberative body; upon the model of this assembly, a "Roman Catholic Committee" was framed in 1757, during the vice-royalty of the Duke of Bedford; and this may, with propriety, be deemed the parent of the association, which kept the Irish Catholics in a state of irritation for a number of years. The members of "the Committee," were delegated, and actually chosen by the people, and their first meeting was held at the Globe Tavern, in Essex-street, Dublin, in the year of their first formation. This "Committee" had been the model according to which all associations continued to be framed by the Roman Catholics for half a century afterwards. It is plain, therefore, that the proposition of the removal of political disabilities from our Roman Catholic countrymen, did not really originate in any false alarm as to the state of Ireland; any expediency then pressing upon government; or any peculiar circumstances of the times; but, in the voluntary concession of a British cabinet, of which the Duke of Wellington was the head.

The address having been moved, the Duke of Newcastle inquired whether it was the intention of ministers to propose

any measure relative to the Roman Catholic question? to this the premier replied, that it was meant to introduce a bill for the removal of all disabilities affecting the Roman Catholics, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds. The Earls of Winchelsea and Eldon lamented the course which the duke had adopted; and the latter expressed his conviction, that if Catholics were once permitted to sit in parliament, or legislate for the state, or granted the privilege of possessing the great offices of the constitution, from that moment the sun of Great Britain was set.

Amongst those who had recently changed their opinions upon this important question, was the Marquis of Anglesea, whose decision had been formed upon personal knowledge of the state of Ireland. His lordship congratulated parliament upon the recommendation contained in the royal speech, respecting Catholic emancipation, upon which he thought the tranquillity, safety, and prosperity of Ireland depended. He said that the recommendation then given had diverted him from his purpose of calling their attention to a subject, not only personal to himself, but also affecting the public. He alluded to his administration of the affairs of Ireland, for the ten months preceding, and to an explanation which he had intended to have given of all subjects connected with it,—his sudden recall,—and the charges which, he believed, had been brought against him, for not having acted in that high trust, in a manner consistent with his duty, as the king's representative in that country. He had expected, that when such grave charges were made, he should have been placed in a situation of replying to them, and of defending his actions. In this he had been disappointed; and, although he should have been reluctantly obliged to have called public attention to his private wrongs, yet he abstained then from doing so, when the wrongs of so many millions were brought forward, in the expectation of their ultimate redress. His lordship would not then press his personal complaints upon the house, but he demanded an inquiry into every part of his administration of the government of Ireland. While he thus

sacrificed his private feelings, to what he conceived to be the benefit of the country, he expressed an ardent hope, that whatever was intended to be done, might not be done ungraciously, or with a cold and unwilling hand; he hoped it would be worthy of a wise and liberal legislation to offer, and befitting a high-minded, generous, long-suffering, and truly loyal people to accept. With respect to the Catholic Association, he begged to use a military maxim, which was, "The nearer a soldier is to the enemy, the less sensible he is of his danger." Now he had lived, for ten months, in the immediate vicinity of that assembly, without seeing or feeling the proximity of the danger which was so much talked of. With regard to the legality of its existence, he had always told the ministers to point out to him that it was illegal, and he would have suppressed it without the least difficulty. They did not do so, but, on the contrary, by passing a special law for its extinction, proved that, before that period, its existence was inconsistent with no law. His lordship assured the house, that he could suggest a measure which would extinguish at once, and for ever, this noisy association—namely, by passing a bill for putting the Roman Catholics upon a footing of political equality with their Protestant brethren.

These few observations of this distinguished soldier, include the whole of the case, as it then existed, and touch the most important point in the Duke of Wellington's conduct and policy, in his ultimate arrangement of the question. His lordship complained, and with every appearance of justice, of his sudden dismissal from the vice-royalty of Ireland, because he had encouraged the Roman Catholics to pursue, with unanimity, but constitutionally, the recovery of their civil rights. This, certainly, seems to have been a severe measure of justice; particularly when it was done by those very ministers who had previously meditated the unconditional admission of that body to political power. His lordship's crime consisted in his being foremost, as well as too candid, in his declaration in favour of emancipation, the entire merit of which, it will be seen, it was determined should be reserved for another. A second fact, con-

rest assured, that during his whole public career he had never uttered a single sentence, declaratory of an opinion, that Catholics, as Catholics, should be excluded from political rights, but, on the contrary, he had always advised, that such a mode of securing their faithful services should be found, as would give the country the benefit of their services.

There was a singleness of character belonging to the Duke of Wellington, to which no member of the ministry, the parliament, the community, ever could lay claim. He was the retriever of England's all but fallen glory; he was the restorer of the ancient kingdoms of Europe, and preserver of his own: he must continue, for ever, the greatest character in English history, were it only to rest upon his having vanquished Napoleon. When the names of all the prime ministers of England shall be lost amidst the undistinguishable multitude of statesmen, who have fretted away their existence in political intrigues, the story of Wellington's victories will form the study of the senator and the soldier, the companion of the whole youth of future England. Had this remarkable benefactor of his country been guilty of a change of sentiment upon a question of domestic politics, it would soon be forgotten, even by those whom that alteration had grievously disappointed; while no other public man, of that or any other period, known merely as a politician, or placeman, could undergo such transition without a temporary, perhaps irrecoverable, loss of public confidence and popularity: the party with whom he previously acted, would view themselves as betrayed; the party whom he had opposed would accept, but suspect, the object of his adhesion. But the Duke of Wellington had not changed his opinion, although the Protestant party thought he had; his colleagues in the government, who supported his measures, were alone chargeable with this species of apostacy. When, therefore, Mr. Peel addressed the house of commons, and declared his intention of acting with the duke, in making the Catholic relief bill a cabinet question, never was triumph more complete than that of the Whig or Catholic party; never were dismay and defeat more

conspicuous than in the countenances and language of his former political associates. Having been chosen by the University of Oxford, as the representative in parliament of Protestant feeling, when he felt it his duty to advocate Catholic aptitude for power, he honourably resigned the trust which had been reposed in him ; and, when he appeared before that house, where he had so frequently, so eloquently, pleaded the purity of the protestant faith, and the necessity for drawing over to its unprejudiced doctrines all other sects, he understood the necessity of explaining why he had so suddenly departed from long-established opinions. He confessed that the most painful sacrifice a public man could make was, to separate himself from those with whom he had long acted, and whose integrity he had so highly respected. He saw the danger as before, but the pressure of present evils was so great, that he preferred the contingency to the continuance. The opinions which he had previously expressed on the Catholic question he still retained : “but, he must say, looking to the position of the government of the country ; looking to the position of the legislature ; looking to the disunion which had prevailed on this subject in his majesty’s councils ; looking to the disunion which for several years had marked the proceedings of the two branches of the legislature ; and looking to the effect which all these causes had produced on the state of Ireland, it appeared to him, that there were sufficient reasons to induce him to accept of almost any alternative, rather than endure their continuance. For twenty-five years the country had seen the cabinet divided on this question. The disagreement of the cabinet was extended to the Irish government, where it was usual to have a lord-lieutenant of one opinion, and a chief secretary of opposite sentiments. Seeing the embarrassments this principle created, he had come to the conclusion, that things ought not to remain as they were ; not only for the sake of the question itself, but of the interests of that Protestant establishment, which it was their duty to protect and maintain. Convinced that any attempt to constitute a cabinet on the principle of resistance to concession, would end in

failure, and finding that the difficulty of forming one united in favour of it was almost equally great, it appeared to him that the best course was, for the existing government to proceed to the consideration of the question, with the prospect of settling it with credit and success. Four parliaments, out of the last five, returned by general elections, had expressed themselves favourable to concession; and the power of the Catholics acquired strength, while that of the Protestants was lowered, by the difference that had existed between the two branches of the legislature. The essence of the contemplated measure consisted in the abolition of disabilities on the ground of religious distinctions. Parliament would be in a condition to consider the affairs of Ireland with the same impartiality as those of Scotland, when, by the removal of civil disabilities, Protestants and Catholics were placed on the same footing. The opinions he then held had not been hastily formed. In the month of August of the previous year, he had communicated to the Duke of Wellington his belief, that the principle of neutrality in the cabinet was no longer desirable or useful; and that less evil would result from a change of system than from an adherence to that which existed. He was persuaded he had selected the course which was free from peril; and with that feeling he entreated the house to attend to the solemn injunction of his majesty, and consider a question which involved not only the welfare, but the tranquillity, of the United Kingdom."

The eloquence and calm reasoning of Mr. Peel did not secure him against the assaults of his former supporters; one of these, Mr. Trant, said, that he had hitherto given his humble but zealous support to government, in the confidence that the leaders of it were firm supporters of the Protestant constitution. He then found himself bitterly disappointed. He had listened to too many of the sound arguments of Mr. Peel, on former occasions, to be deluded by the sophistry of the speech he had then made, in his new character of Catholic emancipator. He lamented that the right hon. secretary's courage had failed him in the very moment almost of victory.

Having shown such want of firmness, however painful the avowal was, he declared that he could never again trust him as a leader.

Other members followed in similar strains of recrimination, charging the secretary with abandonment of former principles, with dereliction, or inconsistency, of public character ; and reminded him of his secession from Mr. Canning's administration, in consequence of his advocacy of those very principles which, under the Wellington administration, he had deliberately forsaken.

When the number of petitions against concessions to the to the Roman Catholics, with which both houses of parliament were at this time inundated, are taken into consideration, it seems extraordinary that even the boldest minister should have persevered ; but the premier had laid his plans early, with caution, and deliberation ; and, frustration by his most potent adversary, was as improbable, as the carrying of the measure itself by any other individual in the empire. The presentation of these multiplied petitions, occasioned a continued, although desultory discussion, on the danger to the church of further concession, and to the state, of suffering the Catholic Association to exist any longer. The Protestant ascendancy party, in every part of the United Kingdom, were seized with the utmost consternation and alarm, at the unanticipated apostacy of the Protestant champions in both houses. The conduct of the duke, although perfectly explicable, could not have failed to surprise every individual in the kingdom ; and both parties in the state felt compelled to acknowledge, that he had exhibited a masterly policy, in concealing his ultimate views on this important question, by caution in expressing his opinions, and the most consummate address in bringing over to his party many of the aristocracy, who had been pertinaciously opposed to a reconciliation, with what they called *popery*, in any disguise or form. Mr. Peel's apostacy was viewed very differently—his friends, his brethren, regretted, in their senatorial places, the new part he had chosen to act ; and did not see, in his individual case, either the same explanation of long-maintained opinions, or those redeeming quali-

ties which would hereafter obliterate from the duke's reputation any error, which, they might suppose, formed a spot or stain upon it. In various quarters of London, anti-Catholic petitions were proposed, and placed in public to receive signatures. The London clergy held a meeting at Sion College, where Dr. Samuel Birch, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and president of the college, took the chair; and there agreed upon a petition, eloquently, and rather learnedly, expressed, against the admission of Catholics to power. The University of Oxford had early declared, in the most unequivocal manner, its adhesion to that church, with which it had been long and honourably connected in the history of our country, and received, with sorrow, the confession of Mr. Peel, that he had ceased to be the advocate of Protestantism, when that advocacy had for its object the exclusion of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen from the enjoyment of civil rights. Bristol exhibited a still greater degree of excitation, on the subject, than the very cradle of the Protestant religion, Oxford. The moment the intelligence reached that ancient city, a petition was presented to the mayor, requesting a general meeting of the inhabitants; which led to the assemblage of thirty thousand determined enemies of emancipation. The Protestants of Dublin, a city founded by settlers from Bristol, imitated the example of their parent; and, at a numerous meeting of gentry, petitions for the dismissal of ministers, deputations to parliament, and addresses to the people of England, were unanimously agreed to. Upon the retirement of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel from the further advocacy of exclusively Protestant principles, Lord Kenyon and the Earl of Winchelsea stood conspicuously forward. These consistent supporters of views which they believed to be correct, upon which also they believed the security of these kingdoms, and the stability of the throne to depend, declared that they looked upon the king, whose assent, it was said, had been obtained, as an *oppressed man*, and that that assent must have been very reluctantly given.

It was during this convulsed state of society, the rending asunder of all ties that had previously held public men together, that Lord Longford, brother in law of the Duke of Wellington,

denounced this measure as insincere, unprincipled, unjustifiable, and unworthy of the government and legislation of the country—the greatest innovation that had ever been attempted upon the constitution. It fell, he thought, with peculiar severity upon the Protestant portion of the Irish people—on those who individually, and collectively, stood forward to support the administration formed by the Duke of Wellington; and who had expressed their exultation when their illustrious countryman was called to the head of affairs, after the two ineffective and incompetent administrations which had preceded him. In his opinion, no change, equal or analagous to this, had occurred since the revocation of the edict of Nantes: nothing, at all events, that so deeply affected the Protestant interests. It pained him to think, that too much of this was owing to their having reposed too large, and too blind, a confidence in the head of the government. They had grievously deceived themselves; but though late, they had received a lesson of experience, and were not likely to place an equal confidence in any set of men, especially in his majesty's ministers."

The tone of complaint and accusation which prevailed in the remarks of Lord Longford, seemed to demand an explanation from the premier, in which he touched upon the chief points, at which the enemies of Catholic emancipation have never ceased to think he aimed; these were secrecy as to his intentions, and a private correspondence with the Roman Catholic primate of Ireland. With respect to the first of these imputations, his grace replied, "my noble relation complains loudly that I have been guilty of concealment; I beg my noble relative's pardon; I have concealed nothing. I have repeatedly declared my earnest wish to see the Roman Catholic question settled. I believe nothing could ever have been more distinct and explicit than my expression of that wish; and is it a matter of surprise that the person entertaining it, should avail himself of the first opportunity of proposing the adoption of that which, over and over again, he declared himself anxiously to wish? On this particular question, I had long ago made up my mind,

as a member of this house, to take a particular course. It may be thought peculiar as a matter of taste; but for many years I have acted upon the determination never to vote for the affirmation of this question, until the government, acting as a government, should propose it to the legislature. My noble relative knows, or ought to know, that ever since the year 1810, the several successive governments of this country have been formed upon a principle which prevented their ever proposing, as a government, the adoption of any measure of relief, in regard to the Catholics. In order to the formation of a cabinet, which, acting as a government, could propose this measure, it was necessary, in the first place, to obtain the consent of that individual, the most entitled by his station, his duty, and the most sacred of all obligations, than any other individual in the empire. It was necessary that I should obtain the consent of that individual, before the members of the government could consider the question as a government one. How, under such circumstances as these, would it have been proper in me to have breathed a syllable upon the subject, until I had obtained the consent of the illustrious personage to whom I have alluded? I call upon my noble relative to answer the question, if he can, in the negative. I beg of my noble relative to ask himself the question, whether I was wrong in having kept secret my views, since the month of July or August; not talking to any man upon the subject, until I had the consent of that exalted personage to form a government, upon the principle of taking the question to which I have alluded into consideration? My noble relative ought to have placed himself in my situation—he ought to see what was expected of me; and then, instead of blaming me for acting as I have done, he would see, that if I had acted otherwise, I should have been highly blameable. On the first night of the session, Lord Farnham taunted me with having sanctioned the publication of a letter* on the subject of the Roman Catholic claims, which had led to the belief, that no measure would be introduced, by the government,

during the present session. It is, perhaps, unnecessary for me to deny, that I sanctioned the publication of that letter, which I confess I probably might as well have let alone—I wrote the letter certainly : but I did not intend it for publication ; and I shall take care not to write such a letter to any individual again. But I totally deny that, either in that letter, or in any thing said, or done, by me, there was the slightest ground for the assertion, that I had any other wish, than that of seeing the question permanently settled.”

Every renewed assemblage of both houses, presented only a fresh occasion for the expression of angry feelings or disappointed hopes. On the sixteenth of February, anti-catholic petitions were again presented to parliament, one of which was introduced in the upper house, by Lord Colchester. This nobleman said, that “ notwithstanding the unexpected sanction which had been given to the consideration of Roman Catholic claims, his opinions had undergone no change ; and that he could not surrender or sacrifice them to the favour of ministers, or to their apprehensions of dangers to arise from the discontented and disturbed state of the Irish Roman Catholics. To the noble Duke at the head of the government, for his former splendid services in war, the debt of public gratitude was immeasurable ; nor could any subsequent events, at any length of time, ever, in any degree, impair the amount of public gratitude and admiration. In the same noble person the country had also confidently expected to find an uncompromising defender of our Protestant constitution, as settled at the Revolution. But that expectation (and he spoke it with the sincerest regret) had been wholly disappointed, the nation’s hopes in that respect had totally failed. The measure recommended in the speech from the throne, tended directly to overthrow and destroy the Protestant constitution of 1688 ; and the assumed principle that religious opinions should be no bar to the acquisition of political power, tends also to shake the title of the reigning family to the crown of these realms, and to bring into question the comparative claims of

the house of Savoy, in preference to those of the house of Hanover." His lordship concluded his observations, and queries, by suggesting the propriety of taking the sense of the country on the question, by summoning a new parliament.

The premier declined entering, at that moment, into further explanation ; he stated that the measure would be brought forward on the responsibility of his majesty's ministers ; and that he was not influenced by the fear of any thing that could occur in this or any other country. He had himself made considerable sacrifices for the purpose of carrying the measure ; but they were trifling compared with those of his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) in the other house. It was obvious that nothing but an imperious sense of duty had induced him to make it ; but the inconveniences and dangers which had arisen, from the state of things in this country and in Ireland, had left him no alternative but the adoption of the measure. He entreated their lordships to wait until the whole question should have come before them, when they would see, whether the carrying of it would not place the protestant constitution of these realms upon a better footing than it had been since the union with Ireland. Whenever the question should come to be fairly debated, his grace declared he would be able to prove, that the protestant institutions of this country were exposed to greater danger at that moment, than they would be after the adoption of the measure which ministers would propose.

The originators of the measure of emancipation magnified the noisy debates of the Roman Catholic association, into seditious and highly dangerous language ; the object of which appeared to be the creation of a false alarm, during which timid men might be made proselytes to their opinions. The first step, then, towards the completion of this design necessarily was the suppression of that body ; and through the eloquence, influence, and energy of Mr. Peel, he was enabled to present a bill for that purpose, at the bar of the house of lords, on the seventh day of February. All the old advocates of emancipation, and many amongst the new, suggested the

immediate passing of the relief bill, as the best, most certain, and expeditious mode of attaining this object: no party in either house opposed the progress of the bill, and the voluntary dissolution of that much, but unnecessarily, dreaded body, sufficiently proved the groundless nature of those talked of fears, and the absurdity of any enactment for its extinction.

Amongst the members of the royal family as marked a difference prevailed upon this question, as amongst the opposite parties in parliament. The Duke of York had always been hostile to the Catholic claims, in which opinion he was supported by the Duke of Cumberland (King of Hanover); while the Dukes of Clarence (William IV.) and Sussex adhered to opposite views. The Duke of Cumberland was as much astonished at the proposition of the premier, whose views on all other subjects he strenuously supported, as the Earl of Eldon or Lord Colchester; and, in his declaration against the question, said, that “it was neither more nor less than this:—Is this country for the future to be a popish country? My conscientious and deliberate opinion is, that the moment a Roman Catholic sits in this house as a peer,—the moment a Roman Catholic is admitted into the other house of parliament,—that moment the constitution of England is changed, and this will be no longer a protestant country.” His royal highness continued during the whole discussion to reiterate his conviction, while his royal brothers applied the term “faction” to the party with which he acted.

As the day of proposing the great measure of Catholic relief drew near, the hostility of the church and state party seemed to acquire additional vigour and strength; and voices, which had seldom before been raised in public places, or on public affairs, were now employed in depreciating the Roman Catholic religion generally, and cautioning the premier against a *second* revolutionary step; the repeal of the test act being reckoned, by them, as the *first*. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, in presenting a petition from Glastonbury, against concessions to the Catholics, stated, “that the people of England were strongly attached to the great protestant principle of civil and religious liberty, and looked back with feelings of

intense solicitude and veneration to the era of the Reformation; in which retrospect they could not help contrasting and comparing the reigns of the protestant Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Queen Mary. The former was regarded by them with gratitude and admiration, the latter with alarm and abhorrence. With like feelings of veneration they looked back to the revolution of 1688, and, therefore, were not desirous to give such additional power to the Catholics as might endanger the permanence of the principles of that revolution, and thereby the existence of the protestant institutions of the country in church and state." His lordship taunted the noble premier with acting under the influence of fear from the power of the Association, ridiculed the idea, and asked why his grace had not suppressed it. In conclusion, he solemnly declared, that sooner than consent to a measure, which, he thought, would tend to subvert the protestant establishments of the country, and foster the growth of popery, he would imitate the conduct of a great predecessor of his in days of papal persecution, and be committed to the Tower, there to undergo any punishment. As a peer of that house he had taken an oath, with which the granting of the Catholic claims appeared to him to be incompatible. "That oath," said the right rev. prelate, "I will keep, come what may. So help me God!"

This declaration was answered by the premier in a speech, more remarkable for the adroitness with which he defended himself against the assaults of the prelate, than for the genuine soundness of its argument in favour of the proposed measure. His grace assured the house, that the provisions of the bill to be brought forward would be perfectly free from the least encroachment on existing institutions, and would not interfere with the oaths taken by the members of that house; and he would further undertake to prove, that so far from tending to establish, they would prevent the growth of popery, and promote the extension of the protestant religion; they would check the increase of the Catholics, while they would augment the numbers of the protestants. He rejoiced at the number

of petitions presented, because they proved, directly, the attachment of the people to the established religion; but all those petitions originated in the mistaken idea, under which the reverend bishop also laboured, which was, that the proposed bill was meant for the introduction of popery, and the destruction of the protestant establishments of the country.

The bishop of Bath and Wells disclaimed the imputation, regretted the course which the illustrious minister had thought proper to pursue, and expressed satisfaction at being informed, that the contemplated bill would not produce inconvenience, with respect to those who had taken the qualification oaths, on their admission amongst the lords. Viscount Melbourne advocated the proposed measure, and warmly sustained the Duke of Wellington in his reply to the reverend prelate. He expressed much surprise at the statement of that learned individual, that Catholics had invariably employed every civil power entrusted to them to the subversion of protestant institutions. Had they applied the power granted to them in 1793 to any other than constitutional uses? Had they attempted to overturn the established church? When the reverend prelate spoke of the feelings with which the people of England regarded the reign of Elizabeth, did he forget, that in that reign Catholics sat in parliament, to which they were not rendered ineligible until the 30th of Charles II.? The revolution of 1688 was justly dear to Englishmen; but the measure of the Duke of Wellington was but the completion and perfection of that design. It might then have been expedient to exclude Catholics from power, such was not now the case. On the contrary, policy and justice united in recommending concession, as likely to *strengthen Protestant interests*, by depriving the Catholic religion of the tie which oppression and the honour of not adopting a lucrative creed, gave it over its professors. The respect which all Englishmen must feel for the memory of George III., and his son, the Duke of York, should not prevent them from doing justice to the Catholics, by admitting them to the full benefits of the constitution.

The unimportant place which Lord Melbourne then held amongst the aristocracy, attracted less attention to his reasoning than it deserved; and, of those who did hearken to it, there were not wanting some who viewed it as mere popular declamation. That it deserved a much higher and more laudable estimate, was subsequently, and at no great interval of time, very fully proved; for, the patronage and the power conferred upon Catholics by his lordship, when he became prime minister of England, has left irrefragable testimony of the sincerity of his declarations upon the Catholic question. Other and more eminent men, his lordship's contemporaries, brought forward popular measures, and received their reward in public votes of thanks, or in frequent returns to the commons' house of parliament; but, when the pretended object of their ambition had been unexpectedly attained, retreated in silence from that field which they had occupied with such long and loud applause. Not so Lord Melbourne, in whose premiership Catholics were found at the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, Greenwich Hospital, in attendance at the palace of royalty, and seated on the judicial bench. This was completely carrying out the first principles of his early policy.

As Mr. Peel had maintained an able advocacy of Protestant supremacy for a lapse of years—as he persevered in stating that his views of the errors of popery were unmitigated; and as he was inexorable on this question, until the Duke of Wellington became premier, the presumption is that he was brought over to a different line of conduct, from that which he had hitherto pursued, by the influence and the arguments of his co-adjutors. This, however is unproved, and rests, solely, upon the conclusion which may be drawn from the faithful reports of public events made at that period, and which seems both probable and natural. It is to the duke, therefore, the Catholics owe the reluctant assent which Mr. Peel gave to the introduction of the relief-bill; and to the same origin they are indebted for the luminous exposition of that minister, of the grounds on which he recommended the adoption of a measure, to the rejection of which, the best efforts of his genius and his life had hitherto been uniformly directed.

On the day that this great trial of moral courage was to take place—when one of the most eminent statesmen in Europe was to recommend a measure, the opposition to which had actually raised him to the possession of that influence, which he was then employing to accomplish it, the House of Commons was crowded to excess; and the cheers that accompanied the eloquent senator, as he rose to sacrifice his feelings, to what he considered to be his duty, were loud and long continued.

For four hours Mr. Peel continued to address the house, which heard his close reasoning with reverential attention; and when at last he closed his brilliant defence, there were a few who felt some apprehension that he had fallen from his former dignified and commanding position, but more who approved of the offering he had made to his country. He opened his address, by stating, “that he had been asked what new light had broken in upon him, to induce him to alter his opinions? he answered, a difference in the position of the affairs of the kingdom at different periods. The real question was, what ought to be done? But two courses remained: either to recede or advance—he preferred to advance. During thirty-five years, the cabinet had been divided on that question; although the principle had been sanctioned and repeated by approved majorities of that house. He thought all the evils, with which Ireland had been afflicted, arose from the indisposition to settle this question. Mr. Peel proceeded to state, that the proposed bill would place Roman Catholics upon an equality with Protestants; and remove all distinction in their qualifications for office, by incorporating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. He next alluded to the elective franchise in Ireland—there the landlords exercised a most unfair influence over the forty-shilling freeholders; but there existed an influence still more dangerous,—that of the Catholic clergy. This he proposed to remedy, by raising the qualification to ten pounds. With respect to the church of Rome, it was a question whether to cherish it, or leave it as those of other dissenters: he recommended the latter mode. It was further proposed,

that when Roman Catholics were admitted to participate in any corporate honours, they should not be allowed to take the insignia of office to any other place of worship than the established church:—that the episcopal titles, then improperly assumed by the clerical members of the Roman Catholic religion, should be discontinued; and that the number and names of Jesuits, in the United Kingdom, should be registered.”

The former associates of the minister rose to record their disavowal of the sentiments which he had then expressed, and to deprecate further concessions to the Roman Catholics, as destructive of the Established Church, in Ireland. Mr. Banks emphatically prophecied a rapid reduction in the number of Irish bishops, and the probable extinction of tithes in Ireland, if the Catholic relief-bill should become law. The attorney-general, to the surprise of both the ministers and the house, stated, “that no pain, which as an individual, he had ever endured, could be compared with that which he suffered, when, *only seven days* before the opening of the session of parliament, he was informed that the Catholic question was to be recommended to parliament by his majesty’s government. He had declined to draw the bill then lying on the table of the house, because, looking at the oath he had taken, as attorney-general, he thought that in drawing up the bill, he should be abandoning his duty to the country and the king, and preparing the death-warrant of the established Church, as completely as Noy did, when he advised the law of ship-money; or as Lord Chancellor Jeffreys did, when he drew up the committal of the seven Protestant bishops to the Tower. The exclusion of Catholics from power was acted upon before the revolution, at the time of the revolution, and after the revolution. The measure of Catholic emancipation then brought forward by Mr. Peel, he considered to be sudden, unadvised, and hasty.” Mr. Peel complained of a breach of confidence, on the part of a law officer of the crown, in exposing the secret workings of government mechanism; but the independence and integrity of that officer’s conduct cannot be denied,—besides, his testimony is of the utmost

value in proving, that government had used every possible precaution to prevent the divulgence of their intentions, and that the charges of secrecy made against them, in both Houses, were not without foundation. Mr. Peel's motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty. In this bill the only security, which deserved the least regard, was that of the abolition of the forty-shilling freeholders, a sacrifice demanded, not merely by those who had granted the boon with timidity and hesitation, but due to the character of the country; for, in the records of many nations, a more flagitious and demoralizing system of corruption was never known to exist, than that of placing the election of a representative to parliament, in the powerless hands of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders. The extinction of the whole race was recommended by the proposer of emancipation; and acceded to, unexpectedly, by those who looked forward to a seat in parliament, upon the introduction of the bill.

The irritation of the anti-Catholic party, within and without the houses of parliament, became completely unlimited; and members of the upper house were found who imputed, openly, the most unworthy motives to the premier. His explanations as to the necessity for observing the strictest secrecy in his plans for the successful issue of his favourite measure, were disregarded; his advice to the real friends of the Catholics, to remain quiet for a season, suspected of insincerity; his statement, that he was necessarily bound to observe secrecy and silence until he had obtained the consent of the king, held to be a mere delusion. His advocacy of high-church principles, during such a lengthened lapse of time, in addition to his high rank and popularity, had influenced the founders of a new school in the Strand, London, in selecting his grace for its patron. The object of this literary establishment had been, confessedly, to correct the suspected evil consequences of the Gower Street School; and the selection of the duke as patron, originated in the firm belief, that he was determinedly opposed to all and every future concession to Roman Catholics. Upon his grace's declaration, or rather

upon the publication of the speech from the throne, which, of course, expressed the premier's views, the founders of the new King's College took the alarm; and, on the fourteenth of March, 1829, the Earl of Winchelsea addressed a letter, of which the following is a copy, to Mr. Coleridge, secretary to the committee for establishing that school:—"I was one of those," said the Earl, "who, at first, thought the plan might be practicable, and prove an antidote to the principles of the London University.* Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and high-church party; that the noble duke,† who had, for some time previous to that period, determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of popery into every department of the state."

This letter produced a correspondence between the noble individuals, conducted by Sir Henry Hardinge, on the part of his grace, and the Earl of Falmouth, on that of Lord Winchelsea. The duke demanded a retraction of that passage in the letter, imputing motives for his conduct which tended to disgrace and criminate him: this he required to be done both by a letter to that effect, addressed to the secretary of the new school, and by a similar written acknowledgment made to himself. These conditions were rejected, unless the duke would admit, that at the time when he presided at the meeting for the establishment of the school, he did not contemplate the measures then in progress for breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, by emancipating the Catholics. His grace, in reply, refused to admit that any man had a right to call upon him to justify himself from charges which his fancy might suggest, or to publish a highly offensive opinion, that he had been actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives, in a

* Now called University College, London.

† "Who, by this act, as leading member of his majesty's government, had assumed a new character, that of public advocate of religion and morality."

transaction that took place nearly twelve months previously ; and, in conclusion, he expressed his opinion that the earl would be anxious to give him reparation for so unprovoked an insult. A hostile meeting was consequently decided on, and these distinguished men met, in accordance with this most barbarous clause in the code of honour, in Battersea Fields, on Saturday, the twenty-first of March, accompanied by their respective friends, who had hitherto so unsuccessfully negotiated. Being placed upon the ground the duke fired, but without effect; upon which the Earl of Winchelsea discharged his pistol in the air—acquiring an infinitely greater victory than if he had slain the great defender of his country. Having thus satisfied his honour, the earl felt himself at liberty to present a written apology, agreeably to the terms dictated by the duke : it was as follows :—

“ 21 March, 1829. Having given the Duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me, through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood when his grace communicated with me, through Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Falmouth, on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that, in apology, I regret having unadvisedly published an opinion, which the noble duke states to have charged him with disgraceful and criminal motives, in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. I also declare, that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter was given to the public—WINCHELSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.”

Thus, happily, ended an affair, that might have become a national calamity,—a result which it pleased Providence to spare this country. His grace proceeded immediately from the field of contest to the palace at Windsor, and communicated the circumstance to his royal master : the Earl of Winchelsea returned to the enjoyment of that respect and admiration of his nobleness, generosity, and courage, which awaited him amongst all classes of society.

The propriety of the premier's conduct, in considering public imputations against the minister as also applicable to the private individual, was questioned by the press ; and,

viewed as a precedent, it was decided that his example was pernicious in the highest degree. The infamous practice of duelling is still, unhappily, sanctioned, by what are called the laws of honour; nor do the laws of the land uniformly punish those who become *participes* in the crime: but the peculiar infamy of the habit does not attach to the illustrious duke; on the contrary, constituted as aristocratic society is in England, if he conceived himself insulted, this was his only mode of obtaining redress. It reflects but little credit upon the civilization of English society to say, that the conduct of the duke did not want for ample precedent, in the example of ministers, and eminent men, who had preceded him, both in England and Ireland. Mr. Fox fought a duel with Mr. Williams, after which they became firm and unshaken political and private friends. Mr. Pitt, when prime minister, fought with Mr. Tierney;—Lord Castlereagh with Mr. Canning, in which the latter was wounded; Sir Isaac Corry, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, fought with Henry Grattan; and Mr. Peel challenged Mr. O'Connell. Even the distinguished rank of the Duke of York (son of George III.) did not prevent him from meeting Colonel Lennox (Duke of Richmond), on which occasion his antagonist's bullet cut off one of the curls of his highness' hair. No lack of precedent, therefore, exists; but duelling is a remnant of the olden time, when it was supposed that a just providence directed the sword, or sped the bullet to the heart of the offending party: and, like many such preposterous customs, it would be gratifying to see the time arrive when the practice as well as the belief—for the belief is gone—should be abolished.

An inexplicable silence, as to public matters, for a short time, hung over the metropolis—and some hesitation existed in the general opinion as to the perseverance of the premier, in a measure which was opposed with so much resolution by individuals of the aristocracy—publicly deprecated by almost every large town in England, and violently protested against by the Irish Protestants. Such calculations were vain—the Duke had taken up his position, and he was determined to

maintain it until he should be declared victorious. The Roman Catholic relief-bill having been carried through the lower house, by Mr. Peel, was sent up to the lords, and, in that assembly, read, for the first time, on the thirty-first of March. It was accompanied by a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and appointment of a different and more real qualification, than those poor instruments of ambition and victims of party had ever possessed. No opposition being given, the second reading was appointed for the second of April, when the illustrious duke delivered his celebrated speech on this important subject; in which he set forth, in the most full and clear light, the principles on which he acted, the feelings by which alone he was influenced, and the necessity, which he conceived to have existed, for the adoption of those means, by which alone success could be insured.

His grace commenced his introduction of the relief-bill, by alluding to the agitated state of Ireland, as a sufficient reason for gravely considering the Catholic disabilities. He said, that "within the two preceding years, agitation had been much increased. That he had reason to believe a considerable organization of the Irish people had taken place, and for the purposes of mischief. This fact he conceived to be fully proved by the declarations of the authors—by the recent elections of churchwardens throughout the country—by the return of Mr. O'Connell for the county of Clare, and by the delegation of individuals of tried talent, to address and direct the movements of the people in the north of Ireland. His grace next alluded to a pitched battle, fought for the occupation of the town of Augher,—between the original inhabitants and a hired banditti,—to a similar affair at Charleville; and, to the threat uttered by Catholics of exclusive dealing, as events arising from the Catholic Association, which Association was extinguishable by the removal of Catholic disabilities, and not otherwise. He was aware that there were those who thought a legislative enactment would have suppressed the Association; he, however, knew that it would not have been acceded to, unless accompanied by a ministerial

pledge, to consider the whole condition of Ireland. Others asked, why not employ force to subdue the turbulent? That would probably have ended in a civil war; a result which he should sincerely deplore. "I am one of those," said the hero, "who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men; and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this: that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country, to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say, there is nothing which destroys property, and demoralizes character to the degree that civil war does; by it, the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father: the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation. If civil war be so bad, when it is occasioned by resistance to the government,—if it be so bad in the case I have stated, and so much to be avoided; how much more is it to be avoided, when we have to arm the people in order that we may conquer one part of them, by exciting the other part against them?" Having painted the horrors of intestine war, his grace proceeded to assure the House, that such was the resource to which the government would be pushed at last, by persevering in the same course that had been followed for the last few years. His grace alluded to the rebellion of 1798, which unnatural project, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had been solicited, by the whole Irish parliament, who walked up to his palace in a body for the purpose, to crush, by force. His excellency did so; but the next session, a proposition was made for the total extinction of an Irish parliament, and the formation of a legislative union, for the principal purpose of carrying the measure of Catholic emancipation; and, in point of fact, this then was the first measure proposed after the suppression of the Irish rebellion, and of an Irish parliament. An elaborate explanation was here introduced of the principles of the revolution of 1688—of the bill of rights, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, the declaration against transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass—of the oaths imposed, first upon dissenters, and subse-

quently to exclude Catholics from parliament, which was not done until the reign of Charles II. ; besides the repeal-act, by which Dissenters were again admitted to parliament, in William the III.'s reign. With respect to the material objection of the Protestant party, that the oaths which they had taken were equally permanent in their true and original purport, as the bill of rights, the Duke pointed out, "that while the bill of rights declares that the Protestantism of the crown shall last *for ever*—that the liberties of the people shall be secured *for ever*—it was remarkable, that as to these *oaths*, which were enacted on the same occasion, not one word is said about *their* lasting *for ever* ; or as to how long they should last."

Having alluded briefly to the alteration of a clause, in the exclusion-act of the first year of William and Mary, for the purpose of admitting Catholic gentry to hold commissions in the army and navy, while the act, generally, remained in force against their sitting in parliament; his grace turned to the danger attendant upon the organization of the Irish peasantry, and to the manner in which that state of things would affect the church itself. "That part of the church of England," said his grace, "which exists in Ireland, is in a very peculiar situation: it is the church of the minority of the people. At the same time, I believe that a more exemplary, more pious, and more learned body of men, than the members of that church, does not exist. The clergy of that church, certainly, enjoy and deserve the affections of those whom they were sent to instruct, to the same degree as the clergy in England enjoy the affections of the people of this country; and I have no doubt that they would, if necessary, shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the doctrines and discipline of their church. But violence, I apprehend, is likely to affect the interests of that church; and I would put it to the house, whether that church can be better protected from violence, by a government united in itself, and united in sentiment with the great body of the people,—or, by a government disunited in opinion, disunited from parliament, and by the two houses of parliament disunited."

Having asserted also, that the leading Protestants in Ireland were favourable to the measure, his grace closed this part of his statement, and proceeded to submit the general provisions of the bill. He stated, that "the bill conceded to Roman Catholics the power of holding every office in the state, excepting a few connected with the administration of the church; it also conceded to them the privilege of becoming members of parliament. Having seen that placing any restriction upon concession had hitherto been erroneous, and had only the effect of increasing the demands of the Catholics, and given them fresh power to enforce those demands; he considered it his duty to make this act of concession as large as any reasonable man could expect it to be. Under the relief-bill, Roman Catholics would come into parliament as they did previous to the act of the thirtieth of Charles II., because there was no longer any danger of a popish succession to the throne. They would be required to take the oath of allegiance, but not that of supremacy, although a part of the latter is incorporated with the former. By this bill, he thought the church, if it were really in danger, would be better secured than by that of the thirtieth of Charles II., although the object for which that act was recognized, namely, to exclude the house of Stuart from the throne, had long since ceased to exist, by the extinction of that family. From that period, circumstances had been gradually moving towards the repeal of Catholic disabilities; and the time, he considered, had then arrived, when it could no longer with safety be delayed." Many, he knew, were of opinion, that the state ought to have some security for the church, against the proceedings of the Roman Catholic clergy, besides the oaths imposed by the proposed bill; but no arrangement could be found capable of adding to the security of the established church. A *concordat*, adopted in other countries, was inadmissible in England, for it implied that the pope possessed some power in the kingdom with which he made that provision; that was a point which his grace declared he would never yield to any sovereign; a detraction from the dignity of the British

crown, to which he could never consent. Neither could the king, consistently, appoint Roman Catholic bishops, for if he nominated, he must grant them a jurisdiction—he must give them a diocese; and there was no place in these kingdoms where he could make such a grant.” With respect to the extension of the Roman Catholic religion, by the establishment and protection of colleges for the education of the youth of that persuasion, and by the importation of religious orders into these kingdoms, he observed, “there is no man more convinced than I am of the absolute necessity of carrying into execution that part of the present measure, which has for its object the extinction of monastic orders in this country. I entertain no doubt whatever, that if that part of the measure be not carried into execution, your lordships will very soon see this country and Ireland inundated by Jesuits and regular monastic clergy, sent out from other parts of Europe, with means to establish themselves in his majesty’s kingdoms.” His grace here read a petition, presented to parliament by the Episcopalians, against concessions to the Kirk of Scotland, which, with the alteration of dates, would be found to correspond with many of those then sent up against Catholic claims,—both prophesied the downfall of the established church, and dominion of popery: the first had signally failed in its anticipations; he believed the latter would hereafter prove to have been equally absurd. Scotland, he considered, resembled Ireland in its internal condition for many years—both favoured the Roman Catholic cause—both became involved in crusades against the church—both were reduced to subjection to England—both were united for legislative purposes with this country. The extinction of religious animosities had laid the foundation of commercial prosperity, and widely diffused happiness in one country; why should not similar effects attend similar causes in the other?

Many topics alluded to by his grace, in his very elaborate speech, being common also to the explanations given in the other house by Mr. Peel, have been here omitted; but, his recapitulation, belonging to his own views, and being prospective also, is

entitled to be quoted at length. "There is no doubt," said his grace, "that after this measure shall have been adopted, the Roman Catholics can have no separate interest, as a separate sect;* for I am sure, that neither your lordships, nor the other house of parliament, will be disposed to look upon them, nor upon any thing that respects Ireland, with any other eye than than with which you behold whatever affects the interests of Scotland, or of this country. For my own part, I will state, that *if I am disappointed in the hopes which I entertain that tranquillity will result from this measure, I shall have no scruple in coming down and laying before parliament the state of the case, and calling upon parliament to enable government to meet whatever danger may arise.* I shall act with the same confidence that parliament will support me then, as I have acted in the present case."

"Having now explained the grounds on which this measure is brought forward—the state of Ireland—the inconvenience attending the continued agitation of the question—the difficulty, nay, the improbability, of finding any other remedy for the state of things in Ireland—the state of public opinion on the question—the decisions of the government and of the parliament on this question—the pretences, for so I must call them,

* *Catholic Statistics, in 1829.*—The number of Catholics in Britain, at the time of passing the relief-bill, was estimated, *by themselves*, at nearly one million, scattered in various proportions through England, Scotland, and Wales. The Catholic population of London, was estimated at 200,000. The chief Catholic counties in England are Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Northumberland, Durham, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent. In Ireland, the Catholic population was estimated at five millions and a half; and the Protestant population, including all sectarians, at one million and three quarters." By the removal of the disabilities, eight English Catholic peers will be enabled to take their seats, by right, in the house of Lords. The Catholic baronets in England are sixteen in number; in Ireland there are eight Catholic peers; in Scotland two, and one baronet, Sir James Gordon. The restrictive code of laws against Catholics had subsisted two hundred and seventy-one years, from the passing of the acts of supremacy, and uniformity, by 1 Eliz., c. 2, in 1558. But the oath of supremacy was not tendered to members of the upper house; and several peers continued Catholics. It was not till the year 1677, that, by 30 Car. II. stat. 2, both Catholic peers and commoners were disabled from sitting in the English parliament." *Wade's Chronological History*, p. 845.

which have been urged against the claims of the Catholics, founded on acts passed previous to the Revolution; having stated, likewise, the provisions of the measure which I propose as a remedy—I beseech you to consider the subject with the coolness, moderation, and temper recommended in the speech from the throne.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. William Howley) had uniformly opposed the concession of further political privileges to Roman Catholics, upon the firm conviction that such concession would be injurious to that peculiar faith which he believed to be contributory to the present and future happiness of every creature upon earth. Although it was with diffidence that he took a part in questions that assumed a political character, and with pain that he found himself opposed to individuals whom he so highly respected; yet, he had a duty to perform which was paramount to all other considerations—he had a duty to perform to the church to which he belonged—as a member of the Protestant faith, which that church was meant to support—to the state, which he apprehended might be injured by granting political power to the Roman Catholics. It was from such apprehensions that he continued to oppose all measures of concession; and he declared, that he could discern nothing in the course of the debates which had recently taken place on the subject, that could alter former impressions, tend to lessen his apprehensions, or give a new feature to the pretensions of the Catholics.

It had been stated by the advocates of concession, that the principles of the Catholics had recently undergone a material change: now he discredited such assertions; and the Catholics themselves disclaimed such disingenuous defence, and declared their religion to be unchanged and unchangeable. It was also asserted, that the influence of the Irish priesthood over their flocks had been much overrated, and that it did not extend to temporal affairs. He would merely appeal to notorious facts, to show, that the abuse of spiritual power in the hands of the Romish priesthood, had proved a most mischievous engine, for the attainment of temporal objects. As to the security to be

expected from the gratitude of the emancipated Catholics, he had often heard that the gratitude of great bodies of men was a very precarious dependence; and his experience led him to be of the same opinion. What gratitude had followed the extension of the elective franchise, or the public maintenance of the college of Maynooth? With regard to the necessity which was said to exist for making the proposed concessions, namely, to prevent civil war, he regretted the occurrence of the apprehension, but thought that the country was not called on to purchase a temporary security at the expense of a change in the constitution; for he contended, that the character of this country, after the passing of the relief-bill, would be no longer Protestant, as it then was, but would undergo a material alteration. His grace recapitulated the religious history of these countries with much perspicuity and no little eloquence; yet when he touched upon the possibility of the sovereign of these countries being surrounded by Roman Catholic ministers, the house literally rang with the laughter of the advocates of concession. His grace persevered, with calmness and excellent judgment, to analyze the nature of the measure, and investigated and pointed out the inconveniences that might arise to public business, in the event of all or any of the chief ministers of the crown being Roman Catholics, the connection between church and state still continuing to be the basis of the constitution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was followed by the primate of all Ireland, Lord John Beresford; a prelate of much learning, ancient family, and high reputation, generosity, and sanctity of character. The acknowledged integrity of this venerable man, renders his testimony valuable, in coming to a decision upon the means and the measures adopted by ministers to carry the relief-bill, and decides the fact of the sudden change of opinion, with which a large number of the house of lords was chargeable,* as well as the mystery in which the

* Names of Peers who voted in favour of the Catholic claims, though formerly opposed to them :—

Dukes : Beaufort, St. Alban's, Leeds, Rutland, Manchester, Northumberland,

plan was involved, up to the public deliverance of the royal speech, recommending concession. His grace regretted that he felt called on to oppose a bill sanctioned by the other house, and introduced into that, under the auspices of his noble countryman, the Duke of Wellington, and encouraged by the approbation of many lords, who, until that session, had been hostile to its principle; his duty to that branch of the established church in which he presided, demanded a full and free expression of his opinion on that occasion.

He did not ascribe blame to any man for a change that might have taken place in his opinions, nor would he utter a sentence calculated to inflame the animosities, or widen the breach between contending parties; but, since amongst those who were once opposed to this measure, but were then its supporters, there were men with whom he was connected in the strictest ties of friendship, and who had been accustomed, on past occasions, to pay some partial deference to his suggestions; he begged to express the deep concern he felt at their having committed themselves, upon this important question, *without even imparting to him the course they intended to pursue*. He did not think the ambition of the Catholics was limited to the concessions of the proposed bill; so progressive were they in their encroachments, that they themselves could not then define the precise nature of the emancipation which they sought, and durst not, if they could. In the same public journal that reported his majesty's recommendation to parliament to revise the penal statutes, appeared a catalogue of the

Wellington.—Marquesses: Winchester, Bath, Hertford.—Earls: Westmoreland, Doncaster, (Duke of Buccleugh,) Dartmouth, Graham, (Duke of Montrose,) Ashburnham, Warwick, Harcourt, Chatham, Bathurst, Strange, (Duke of Athol,) Chichester, Powis, Oxford, Stradbroke.—Viscount: Beresford.—Barons: Teynham, Byron, Hawke, Carteret, Montague, Douglas of Douglas, Saltersford, (Earl of Courtown,) Lilford, Meldrum, Ross, (Earl of Glasgow,) Kerr, (Marquess of Lothian,) Wemyss, (Earl of Wemyss,) Ravensworth, Forrester, Lyndhurst, Fife, (Earl of Fife,) Stuart de Rothsay, Clanwilliam, (Earl Clanwilliam.)—Scotch Peers: Earl of Home, Viscount Arbuthnot, Viscount Strathallan, Lord Saltoun.—Irish Peers: Lord Carberry, Lord Dufferin.—Bishops: Winchester, (Sumner,) Lichfield, (Ryder,) St. David's, (Jenkinson,) Llandaff, (Copleston,) Derry, (Knox.)

grievances, which were at a future period to be employed as a means of disturbing the peace of Ireland. The great mover of agitation had even then declared, that the regeneration of Ireland would not be complete, *until the odious act of Union should have been repealed*, and Ireland, from the state of a pitiful province, to which she was reduced, restored to her just independence amongst kingdoms—that Mr. Pitt's pledge, at the Union, was to embody the Roman Catholic religion with the state, as the Presbyterian was at the Scottish Union, abolishing tithes, and making the clergy dependent on the charitable contributions of those that are to be benefited by their ministry. To some persons these views may appear wild and visionary ; but they were approved and adopted by the leaders of the Catholic party, and constituted the chief of the alleged grievances which the parliament were then called on to remedy. The aristocracy and gentry might be more moderate in their views ; but they possessed but little influence over the great body of Irish Roman Catholics ; their voice was seldom heard, and when heard, it was disregarded. The priesthood were everything ; the people, and even the agitators themselves, were but instruments in their hands. It is, then, the absolute power of the Romish priesthood over a population like that of Ireland, and the projects of ambition founded on that power, which rendered the still existing barriers necessary to Protestant establishments, under a free and mixed constitution like our own ; and the proposed bill would take away the only effectual securities, without making friends of those against whom they were a defence. The power of doing mischief would be increased ; the inclination to commit it remaining the same. If these concessions could appease the hostility of the Roman Catholic priesthood, to what was Protestant—disarm them of their unbounded influence over the people—dissolve their blind allegiance to the see of Rome—free them from its jurisdiction—and make them citizens of their own country—taking their stand with other classes of *Dissenters*, where the wisdom of the legislature should place them ; then much benefit might be anticipated

from the measure. But it could not be expected, that by such concessions, the church of Rome would become suddenly tolerant—the priesthood content with an inferior rank to a clergy, the validity of whose orders they denied—and leave in possession of its privileges a church which they reviled as intrusive and heretical—that they would become indifferent to domination the nearer they approached to it, and the more efficient their means of attaining it—that they would quit their hold upon the wills and affections, the passions and prejudices of the people, at the moment that their spiritual despotism might be turned to the most account, in forwarding their temporal aggrandizement. His grace felt persuaded that concession would not produce the effects anticipated, but that increase of power would only tend to exasperate, if not successful in attaining the purposes for which it was coveted. “It is with this conviction on my mind,” said the venerable man, “that, regardless of the obloquy and disquietude I bring upon myself, I take my stand upon that ground which affords me the only firm footing for defence, and am unwilling to abandon the position, until, at least, I have warned the country of its importance to the security of the Protestant Institutions of Ireland.”

“Necessity,” said his grace, “is pleaded, in the second place, in justification of the measure; it is described as the only means of satisfying the Catholics, or uniting the Protestants against further popish encroachments. It is asserted, on the one hand, that with a divided cabinet, and divided parliament, a wavering policy must follow. No useful measure can be adopted for the improvement of the country, or efficient administration of the laws, much less for extending to the church that share of protection and support which is her due. On the other hand, it is said, that if after this last boon shall have been granted, new demands shall be preferred, and old discontents continued—and the Roman Catholics shall strive to raise themselves, by these concessions, to a degree of power subversive of the established church—that the eyes of all men will be at length opened; that the incorrigible

restlessness of this sect will deprive it of every Protestant supporter, and unite the friends of the state-religion in a phalanx, which will at once overwhelm the efforts of those who were leagued together for its destruction." "All this," said his grace, "sounds well, and may seem to promise much security in perspective. I am bound to give the persons who use this language full credit for the sincerity of their intentions; and I trust we shall not call upon them in vain to redeem their pledges of attachment to the church, whenever the hour of need shall come. But as to the united stand that was to be made against future encroachments, after the most effectual securities have been wrested from us in consequence of our divisions, I confess myself to be most incredulous. If different views in the administration, and in the parliament, be now assigned as a reason for the surrender of our safeguards, is it to be supposed that ministers and parliament will not be again divided, upon a subject so fruitful of contention; that when new demands are made, and the physical force of the five millions is once more arrayed in debate against us, as it will no doubt be after the recent experience of the efficacy of such a topic of persuasion, variance of opinion will not again exist, and that our divisions will not be again brought forward, as a resistless argument for the necessity of larger sacrifices, in order to obtain that peace, which is continually receding from us, the more eager we show ourselves by compromise to secure it? But the advocates of the bill deny that our dangers will be increased by concession. It might be enough to answer, 'The Roman Catholics themselves do not think so.' If, "said his grace," it can be made appear that the Roman Catholics can be admitted into both houses of parliament, without increased danger to the Irish church, I shall not vote for their exclusion. It will not be thought unnatural or indecorous in your eyes, that the welfare of that church should be my first and principal object. I regard it as one of the great providential instruments of doing good—as the great barrier against superstition on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other—as the incorrupt witness

of truth in a land abounding with error and delusion. Let it be considered how great would be the influence exercised over public measures, by a body so large as that which we have reason to think the Roman Catholic representatives will eventually form in the popular branch of the legislature—a body firmly compacted for carrying Roman Catholic measures—modelling its votes solely with a view to that end—ready to throw itself into the scale of the party which shall bid the highest for its accession—embarrassing the measures of any administration that shall honestly and boldly set it at defiance—sent into the house by the influence of the Romish priesthood; who, as they have made, so they can unmake their representatives—that priesthood governed by a foreign state, and armed with the terrors of a superstition all-powerful in Ireland. Will it be said that such a number of representatives, so constituted, and so bound together by unity of purpose, so governed, and so directed, would not have a preponderating weight in all deliberations—would not possess that kind of influence which would expose the Protestant church in Ireland to the greatest danger, under the most upright and vigorous administration—would not accomplish its downfall under a weak or corrupt ministry? Of this, at least, I am confident, that to raise up such a force against the established church, in the popular branch of the legislature, under the notion of strengthening her defences, and in expectation of controlling her adversaries, is the most unwise and hazardous policy; a policy which has already served the purposes of the Roman Catholics, by disuniting the church's friends. If it be said that I am alarming myself with a phantom of my own imagination, I beg it may be remembered, that the party proposed to be formed in parliament against the church, is one of no ordinary description. The Roman Catholic representatives about to be admitted from Ireland into the other house, will not be the representatives of property, or of the people; they will not even express public feeling, or well-directed public opinion; they will in effect be the agents and commissioners of the Romish priesthood, sent thither to give utterance to

the sentiments, and to manage the interests, of that body—a body, it should be recollected, which has objects to gain, and views to promote, irreconcilable with the general good of the empire. The priesthood of the church of Rome must ever stand alone in a Protestant country. Protestant sects run into each other, and finally unite with the established church; but the Romish priesthood have set the mark of separation upon their own foreheads, by their unnatural though politic restrictions, by their exclusive and arrogant pretensions, by their dangerous, and, as it was until of late supposed, unconstitutional connection with a foreign power. With other sects, their ascendancy is hopeless; their opposition is confined to matters of inferior moment; it ceases when the common cause of Protestantism is endangered. With the Roman Catholics of Ireland, ascendancy will be placed within their reach by this measure; and with the Roman Catholic priesthood, the promotion of the interests of their church is their point of honour; it ranks, in their estimation, above country, kindred, and friends. It is, then, the confederacy of the Romish priesthood, actuated by a never-dying hostility to what is Protestant, that we have to dread; and not merely that of Roman Catholic representatives, who, it may be thought, will be acted upon, and divided into parties, like other men.”

“If we are told that Romish councillors, and Romish legislators, are found to be in foreign states as honest and patriotic as men of other creeds; I would answer, that, without minutely sifting the truth of the assertion, the cases are, in my opinion, quite dissimilar. In the instances alluded to, the Roman Catholic religion is either the established one—and in that case, the point is carried, and there is nothing further to be gained by agitation—or else the government is absolute; then is no voice heard but its own; and should a disposition to encroachment on the part of the Romish church be manifest, a single rescript from a minister would suffice for the correction of the evil. With us, the Romanists constitute an active party in the commonwealth,—dangerous to our establishments, in proportion to the power with which it is invested; ever

restless, because it has still an object to attain, and constantly excited to fresh machinations by the increasing hope of accomplishing its purpose. I do not mean to say, that the subversion of the Irish church will be immediate on the passing of this bill, nor do I think that it will be far removed from it.* It is probable that, at first, the approaches will be cautious, and concealed under various pretences; until at length the assailants shall become emboldened by success, and favoured by political circumstances. I ask then—for this appears to me to be the only fair and intelligible way of discussing the question—are you prepared to go the length to which you will be urged, after you have conceded all that is now demanded? Are you prepared to sacrifice the Irish church establishment and the Protestant institutions connected with it—to efface the Protestant character of the Irish portion of the empire—to transfer from Protestants to Roman Catholics the ascendancy in Ireland?—for to one or other of the opposed parties, it is admitted on all hands, ascendancy must be granted. I would fain hope, that those who view with indifference the establishment of popery in Ireland, know not what that religion is in its practical effects upon the human mind. It has been represented to this house, within the last few years, in the form most capable of bearing the light of day;—the line of defence taken up by its champions has been that of extenuation and apology, and some have described it in harsher terms.—I shall not, however, enter upon a theological discussion; suffice it to say, that those doctrines and practices of the Romish church, which, however modified or disguised, form the distinguishing features of her creed, are in irreconcilable variance with purity of faith and morals—the firmest basis of national prosperity and individual happiness. I do not think that England, with her intelligence and her independent spirit of inquiry, will ever become a vassal of the pope of Rome; but I do think, that with a considerable number of the representative Roman Catholics, and with a large portion of the

* The number of Irish Protestant bishops was reduced from twenty two to twelve, in the year 1833.

remainder, either indifferent to, or dissenting from, the established religion, her church will share the fate of our own. Her ascendancy and incorporation with the state will be no longer maintained—the equal right to national support and national favour will be asserted for sects* the most erroneous and the most discordant; a neglect of religious truths will ensue, and the pure light of the Reformation be extinguished here also. Whatever impression my observations may produce, I feel, that in delivering them I have discharged a duty which I owe to the church of Ireland, and to that of England also.—if those establishments are to be spoken of as distinct,† which the legislature has indissolubly united. If I am asked, ‘What is to be done for Ireland;’ I explicitly answer, “tolerate, but do not encourage, still less do any thing to establish religious error;—cherish with equal care all classes of his majesty’s subjects; withhold nothing in the spirit of monopoly which can be safely granted,—but for the sake of all, (yes, for the sake of the Roman Catholics themselves,) let the constitution be ever Protestant in its essential members—in its monarch and in his responsible advisers—in its legislature—in its public institutions for education;—but, above all, in its religious establishment.”

The view which the primate of Ireland took of the proposed measure, found the most entire approval throughout the Protestant community. His grace had never been a partisan—had no connection with faction, political or religious; and, in the discharge of his episcopal functions, had manifested a laudable liberality, and the most princely munificence. The long silence which he had observed, and becomingly observed as a prelate, in the legislative councils of the nation, had led, possibly, to a wrong conclusion, as to his ability of grasping with questions of delicacy, doubt, or difficulty; so that when

* In 1841, Jews were declared eligible to political and civil appointments.

† English bishops have frequently refused to license Irish Protestant clergy; and some have actually declined to attach any value to a degree from the university of Dublin. The power of acting in this invidious, erroneous, and mischievous manner should not be left in the hands of any diocesan.

his grace had concluded the clearest, most candid, and comprehensive speech, made by any member of either opinion in that house, the effect was perhaps much greater than if his ability and judgment had been more generally known. The question being more particularly Irish, his grace confined himself chiefly to the probable consequences of the measure, with reference to that part of the United Kingdom; and, with the exception of any results that were to flow from, what he termed, erroneous doctrines, all the others which he anticipated took place even much earlier than his calculations inferred. Several other members of the episcopal bench addressed the house; some in language so bigoted, partial, and unprotestant, that their arguments tended to obstruct their objects; while others, completely brought round from their long-cherished anti-catholic opinions, found, under the Wellington administration, causes sufficient to demand that concession, which, under other governments, they had declared would unchristianize England. Perhaps the explanation of the Bishop of Oxford was not the least singular of those who had suddenly become favourable to the bill. "I think it *convenient*," said the reverend prelate, "to grant concession; for I hold it to be a just proposition, that whatever action is not sinful, may be granted upon the principle of *expediency*."

But the views of churchmen found little attention from any party, for those who opposed the measure were supposed to have exhibited a pardonable partiality; those who supported, and upon a sudden change of sentiment, were looked upon as lowering themselves before the minister, in expectation of rising afterwards by his aid. That party, in the state and in the house, which acted from conscience solely, even against personal prospects of aggrandizement, no matter whether their views rested on sound policy or otherwise, obtained an attentive hearing within the parliament, and was warmly applauded by the English people generally without. Of these uncompromising anti-catholic advocates, the Earl of Winchelsea had become one of the most conspicuous for consistency, determination, and resistance; his hostile meeting with the

illustrious premier, had much increased his notoriety at this period; and every additional step which he took in the cause, called forth the approbation of those who desired to preserve England as an exclusively Protestant kingdom. Having upon every former occasion loudly inveighed against the introduction of the relief-bill; on the second reading, he said, "he did not think it expedient or necessary to enter at length into the question—whether or not it was just or desirable to place political power in the hands of the followers of the church of Rome. He would not extend the inquiry, as to the justice or wisdom of a Protestant legislature giving strength and consistency to a body of men, who were called upon, by every motive and consideration which could actuate the mind of man, to use every power with which they were invested, to subvert and destroy Protestantism in every shape, and especially the established religion in England: He would then only proceed to a brief consideration of the enactments, which the illustrious premier proposed to substitute, for the long-known and tried safeguards, under which our Protestant constitution had arrived at its present degree of perfection; and under which England had so long and so happily enjoyed the blessings of liberty, of equal justice, and of political independence. When the nature of this measure was first announced, it was accompanied by an assurance from the Duke of Wellington, which gave to the country a peculiar pledge; and the time was then arrived for considering how far that pledge had been redeemed. The duke had promised that the intended measure of concession was calculated to give stability to the public peace, satisfaction to the minds of the Protestant community, security to the established religion, and, above all things, to check the growth of popery in these realms. Judging from recent and from remote circumstances, there would be little difficulty in showing, that two parts of the undertaking are assumptions that rest upon grounds the most erroneous. With respect to the alleged satisfaction to the Protestant mind of England, he called on the house to look at the innumerable petitions that poured into the house since the disastrous announcement was made—to

the countless addresses that had been laid at the foot of the throne—and the extent to which the public mind had been agitated, from the moment this threatened inroad on the constitution became known; the most distant parts of the empire rising with the voice of indignation, from the moment at which Protestant ascendancy was first assailed; and the English had taken every opportunity of looking into the question, of judging for themselves, and of expressing their disapproval to parliament, ever since the measure had been divulged. His lordship believed there was no man living who would assert, that it was otherwise than an experimental measure. Hitherto this country had enjoyed a greater degree of liberty than was to be found elsewhere in Europe; and how was that freedom of action and conscience to be improved by the admission of men to political power, to whom the right of private judgment is denied? He boldly affirmed, that the proposed bill, in the opinion of the English people, would not afford the slightest security to the reformed religion, or church establishment,—that none of those safeguards would be afforded, for which they had been taught so anxiously to look; and that no return or equivalent would be given for those encroachments on that constitution which was settled in 1688. They believe, on the contrary, that their rights and liberties are endangered, for that the preservation of Protestantism is essential to the preservation of those rights and liberties. It was vain to assert that the British constitution is of popish origin, or had a substantial existence in popish times. Although the door of freedom was opened previous to 1688, and the tide of liberty occasionally ebbed and flowed, yet the civil rights of Englishmen were not permanently established until long subsequent to the Reformation. His lordship stated also his conviction, that the character of popery was unchanged—that despotism flowed from the predominance of popery, as naturally and necessarily as effect from cause. He believed it to be a truth equally indisputable, that whatever was truly and morally good, whatever was christian and religious in any church, or in any country, would be found to exist, in proportion as

the members of that church and country should have receded from the church of Rome, and advanced towards Protestant principles and faith. Rational liberty, and attachment to true freedom, were found to exist in a greater proportion amongst Protestant communities than amongst any other class of Christians. "Are we, then," said his lordship, "to allow the most precious rights, for which men contend, to be trampled down, that Irish rebels may teach England how to defend those rights which none but Englishmen have ever enjoyed? Are we to be intimidated by the menace of treasonable and illegal associations? Where is the proof that the unrestricted admission of Roman Catholics will give strength and security to the state? It is the will that actuates, and not the hand that signs, which determines the character of a series of measures, or of an administration. It is in vain that the houses of legislature, or the subordinate offices, be filled by the majority of Protestants, if the prime minister, notwithstanding, be a papist. If the past were to be taken as a criterion of the future, how could it be supposed that men who had always submitted their minds to the spiritual jurisdiction of a foreign power, would devote themselves, at once, to the maintenance of institutions such as those of England, and exert themselves in maintaining the connexion between a Protestant church and the state; the value of which had not hitherto been questioned. Can any one suppose that the Roman Catholics will sincerely contribute to the support of a constitution, which has arisen, like the phoenix, from the ashes of popery? Can any rational man believe that the proposed bill will check the growth of Popery? that the admission to political power would induce any of the followers of the church of Rome to throw off the spiritual and temporal power of that church? Had it been practicable for our ancestors to remain Catholics, and at the same time to have relieved themselves from the intolerable ascendancy of popish influence, where would have been the necessity, three centuries ago, for effecting the great work of the Reformation? what the obligation to reform our religion? what the occasion to banish the Jesuits? Why needed we to suppress the monasteries?"

His lordship concluded a very impassioned, characteristic, and undoubtedly sincere declaration, by a solemn appeal to both clergy and laity, "to weigh well the responsibility that would attach to every individual, who should consent to resign the safeguards of Protestantism, and make an experiment upon the established constitution of these kingdoms, for an object which, if attained, no true Protestant could applaud."

The Marquis of Lansdowne contended, that a power had arisen in Ireland which concession alone could subdue or control; that the Catholics already possessed political power, and it was the object of the emancipation-bill to bring that power within one that was regular and salutary—the Protestant power, and thereby produce tranquillity. He next proceeded to reply to the very able speech of the primate of all Ireland, whom he thus characterized: "The right rev. prelate at the head of the established church of Ireland, who had expressed his sentiments in a manner that reflected honour on himself, and showed him to be worthy of the high station which he held." But, however just and candid this eulogy upon the commanding language and clear views of the learned prelate, his reply failed altogether to overturn the close reasonings which that individual had employed; and the whole of his intended refutation rested upon an erroneous conception of the archbishop's arguments against concession. After several other eminent persons, known as champions of both causes, had reiterated their sentiments, an adjournment was proposed by the Earl of Falmouth; but, as it was then only one o'clock in the morning, and the zeal of numerous orators still burned with unabated ardour, a scene of tumult followed; this ended at length in a postponement of the debate to the following day.

The adjourned debate was opened by the Archbishop of York, who spoke in the most eulogistic language of the Duke of Norfolk, and the English Catholics generally; but thought that the paramount influence of the Roman Catholic priests over the minds of an ignorant and credulous peasantry, would always prove a most formidable instrument for effecting what, to them, must naturally be their first great object—the resto-

ration and aggrandizement of their own church. "It is a resistless weapon constantly in their hands, which they can wield at will, and by which they can, at any moment, convulse Ireland from one extremity of it to the other. As I conscientiously believe that the accomplishment of this measure will endanger the Protestant church of Ireland, I feel it my bounden duty, as a bishop of the united church, to give my vote against the second reading of the bill. It is with considerable regret that I find myself obliged to oppose any measure brought forward by the Duke of Wellington. It is the first occasion of my having done so, and I am persuaded that it will be the last."

The Lord Chancellor, in an elaborate piece of argument, accounted for his conversion to the duke's views of emancipation, but met with a most sarcastic reply from the Earl of Falmouth, who anatomized the learned lord's speech, and read a counter-reason to every one which he then urged, from his speech, on the opposite side of the question, delivered in the month of June preceding. The earl also denied that the bill was calculated to give tranquillity to Ireland, and thought, that although the duke had promised to repeal it, should it prove ineffectual, the experiment was fraught with danger. The illustrious duke, however, denied that what he had said on a former occasion went so far as to the threatened repeal of the measure: what he meant was, "that if this measure did not produce tranquillity in Ireland, he would have no greater hesitation in coming down to parliament for a new remedy to perfect it; that he would ask the house to grant him such a remedy, with the same confidence that he then asked their consent to the bill before them."

Neither additional arguments, nor any new experience, were evinced by the noble lords who spoke before the close of that night's debate, with the exception of those advanced by the Marquis of Anglesey. His lordship stated, that he could have been content to have given a silent vote in support of the measure, but, connected as he had recently been with Ireland, and having been a close observer for ten months of

the state and condition of that country, and having seen the various bearings of the question upon Irish society, he had come to the conclusion, that he ought to express to the house the opinions which he entertained on the subject, as well as his reasons for entertaining them. Anxious as he was that the bill should pass, he still had decided objections to several clauses, which were considered to be necessary accompaniments to it. He passed by the objectionable clauses for the present, in order to state the expectations of advantage which he looked upon as the consequences of carrying the measure, even in its proposed shape. As regarded Ireland, his lordship considered the question in three distinct points of view: first, politically; next, religiously, and he thereby meant as regarded the Protestant church; and, lastly, in a military point of view.

“As to the political view, from the moment that the bill was passed he declared his conviction that the regeneration of Ireland was complete. Ireland wanted much, but what it chiefly wanted was repose. For several months Ireland had enjoyed that repose. Her gaols were then empty; her police idle; her military, at that moment unoccupied. In his opinion, the relief-bill would secure the permanence of that tranquillity which is the source of all national happiness, and without which national prosperity can never be lasting. Tranquillity would produce this effect, and without doubt immediately. It would secure an ample flow of capital into Ireland. It was a fact worthy of knowledge and attention—and his lordship vouched for the accuracy of the statement—that when, in the year 1825, there was a mere expectation of emancipation being granted by parliament, a single individual in Dublin received, from England, no less a sum than £1,300,000, to be invested in Irish speculations. That sum, large as it was, had the bill then before parliament been carried, was to have been followed by a sum still larger; and he sincerely regretted that he had been one of those who assisted at that time in throwing out that bill: for the consequence of it was, that much of that capital was withdrawn from Ireland, and all

expectation of further capital flowing into it was, for the time, destroyed. Here, his lordship asked, what would be the necessary consequence of an influx of capital into Ireland? First of all, it would increase the value of land; next, it would diminish the rate of interest; and then it would open canals, drain bogs, reclaim lands, draw out all the resources of that fine and fertile country, establish manufactures, and cause all the population of Ireland to receive employment. Nothing, he was convinced, was more fallacious than to suppose that the people of Ireland were dissolute and idle. The houses of parliament might call for the returns of crime in both countries, and the contrast would show which people were more dissolute. The Irish might be called idle, but the fault did not rest with themselves; it was solely because they could get no employment. Give an Irish labourer sufficient employment, and pay him accordingly, and there would not be a more honest, active labourer, on the face of the earth. But a more important consequence than any that he had described, Lord Anglesey believed would be, the return of the wandering absentee to his native country. He would repair to the seat of his ancestors; he would find comfort where he left discontent; tranquillity where he left disaffection; and, by his return would re-establish that greatest blessing to any country—the fair, legitimate connexion between the landlord and his tenant. His lordship next proceeded to speak of the Irish branch of the established church: “Is not,” said his lordship, “the Protestant church of Ireland really in danger? If so, then the passing of the relief-bill would do more to strengthen it in the minds of the people, and would better maintain its security, than all the penal enactments which the utmost ingenuity of legislation could devise. The church of England required no extraneous aid; it needed no support from the legislature; by its weight it was steadfast and immoveable; and whenever it might choose to enter the arena of discussion with its opponents, it was sure to come off victorious and triumphant.”

As to the other point of view in which the Marquis of

Anglesey proposed to consider the question, "he thought there was no one acquainted with the state of Ireland, who would not agree with him in the assertion, that even in a time of profound peace, whilst under the system of exclusive laws, five and twenty thousand men was but a very scanty garrison for Ireland. In the event of war, or even of the rumour of war, that would indeed be well regarded as an improvident government which did not immediately add a force of fifteen thousand men to the previous military force. Forty thousand men, he asserted, would be barely sufficient under such circumstances; for there was a nucleus of mischief for the disaffected of that country in America;—there was a focus of insurrection for it always in France. It could not be questioned that both France and America, at that period, wished to inflict injury on this country; and in the event of any collision with either of those powers, the first object of both would be, to throw arms, to a great extent, into the hands of the discontented Irish. This argument was urged upon the supposition that, the exclusive laws should continue to exist; for, if they did not, the arms would not be received; or, if received, would be turned against the donors. But suppose that we were absolutely at war, and that there was really a combination of the powers of Europe—no very unlikely contingency—against us, would it not then be madness in any administration not to throw seventy thousand men immediately into Ireland? He should be sorry, he protested, with all the power of steam to convey troops from the continent, and all the advantages which modern science has introduced into the art of war, to see Ireland with so scanty a garrison in time of war, under the exclusive laws. Now, let another view of the subject be taken. Suppose this bill to be passed into law within one month from that date:—declare war, then, if the country demanded it, next day, and he ventured to promise, that there would be no difficulty, within six weeks, of raising in that country an army of fifty thousand able-bodied, —and, what was still more valuable,—willing-hearted men, who would traverse the continent, or find their way to any

quarter of the globe to which England might choose to direct their arms. In his lordship's deliberate judgment, the passing of the Roman Catholic relief-bill was worth to the British empire more, far more—he spoke without a wish to exaggerate—than a hundred thousand bayonets." Before he sat down, the noble marquis was anxious to reply to a reverend prelate who had stated, that when he had held the viceroyalty of Ireland, he had neglected the Protestant interest of that country, and cherished, supported, and protected by his authority, the Catholic Association and the Catholics. To that charge, in the sense in which it was meant by the reverend accuser, he pleaded, 'Not guilty;' and he would be ready at all times to defend his conduct in the government of that country. He had always endeavoured to hold the scales in equilibrio between the two parties into which Ireland was divided: he neither encouraged the party called Brunswickers, nor threw the shield of authority over the Association; but he could not help making a distinction between them; for, one body was instituted for the relief of themselves from intolerable evils, whilst the other had been formed to aggravate and perpetuate their sufferings."

The anti-Catholic party in the house of lords, fully believing that they represented the sentiments of the majority of the English nation, persevered, with unabated zeal, in their resistance to this important measure; and the debate was only closed for that night, by the Marquis of Anglesey, to be resumed on the following day, with the same feelings on both sides. Each party having entered the arena of disputation with minds full-charged, and firmly convinced of the right of their respective causes, it was unlikely that a single proselyte was made, or that any other advantage resulted to themselves or to their country, beyond the publication of the reasons upon which the one party conceded, and the other denied, full, unqualified emancipation to the Roman Catholics of this empire. In violence of declamation, and reiteration of the reasons by which they were influenced, both parties were equal; and possibly in sincerity of purpose, neither could be

said to have been more entitled to respect than the other. It was upon the debate, previous to the second reading of the bill, that Earl Grey entered the final record of his sentiments in favour of the Catholic body, whose claims he had advocated from his first entrance into the house of parliament. His lordship seemed to be actuated, in this instance, by an ambition of replying to the lord chief justice Tenterden, who had rested his opposition to the measure upon legal grounds principally. Having recapitulated the different acts of Elizabeth and Charles, the bill of rights, and the object of the union of Scotland, as regarded Catholics, he thought the question, in 1829, was, whether the motives of exclusion continued to exist; and whether those measures, which peculiar circumstances called forth and created, were necessary in the then state of the country. The question was one of pure expediency: and while he acknowledged that we were bound to pay a pious reverence to what had been done by our ancestors, he thought we had full liberty, or rather, were under the sacred obligation of comparing the situation in which we then stood, with that in which they acted, and of adopting such measures as might be prescribed to us by a just view of the public interests, and a true devotion to those principles of civil and religious liberty which governed our conduct. "The lord chief justice," said Earl Grey, "has thought fit to speak of those who support the present measure, as persons who arrogated to themselves, exclusively, the character of friends of civil and religious liberty. For myself, I arrogate nothing. I have constantly acted on principles which give their just rights to all; and by my actions I expect to be judged. I have shown my sincerity, by giving my undeviating support for the last thirty years of my life, to those important measures which now, I hope, are at length on the point of being carried. But I do not arrogate exclusive sincerity, nor question the sincerity of those who differ from me in opinion. I am a member of the established church, and I am a firm believer in the superior purity of its religious doctrines; but I am thoroughly convinced that the measure before the house

will not affect the security of that church,—and I would tell the learned lord, who has reflected on me and others, that I would resist, to the utmost of my power; in common with himself, any and every attempt to subvert that church.” His lordship proceeded to dissipate in detail, the arguments adduced by Lord Tenterden against the refusing of political confidence by Protestants to Roman Catholics, and succeeded to the satisfaction of his own side of the house. As to Lord Somers, and the great promoters of the revolution, he declared, “that they had only done what was necessary in their day, leaving to their successors the same liberty, and the same duty of providing for future exigencies. They had not meant to legislate for all ages—they did not intend to frame a law for the perpetual exclusion of Roman Catholics; if they did, they would have stated it in that manner and effect; and if they had, still the legislators of other periods had the power and privilege to alter, and amend, and abandon the clause, if the circumstances of the times demanded.” To those who apprehended Roman Catholic ascendancy in Ireland, his lordship answered, “I, for one, believe firmly, that if there is any measure that can and will prevent that evil, it is the measure now before you,—carry this measure, and I have a confident belief that the Protestant church of Ireland will gain increased influence and security;—reject it, and my belief is as strong, that its subversion is nearly certain. But I will for a moment suppose the worst,—what is predicted may happen; I cannot answer for futurity. However improbable, the church of Ireland may possibly be superseded by a Roman Catholic establishment. Do not let me be mistaken, or misrepresented—do not let it be said, that I should not regard such an event as one of the greatest of all possible evils—one which I would do every thing in my power to avert—one which I think I am doing my best to prevent, by giving my support to this bill. But, in spite of my wishes and endeavours,—in spite of those which are more important, those of that house, this evil may possibly ensue. But the connexion with England might remain—the two countries, under separate

churches, might still continue united under the government of the same sovereign; of this, there are examples enough in the different states of Europe, and even in his majesty's dominions. The churches then might be separate, but the union of the kingdoms might be preserved, and all the great sources of national power and prosperity might still be preserved." The memoirs of Wolfe Tone had been alluded to by the opponents of emancipation; his lordship recommended their perusal to the members of that house, with a view to profit by the lessons of experience which they afforded; for it was impossible to peruse the narrative of the expedition under General Hoche, without perceiving that, the success of that attempt must have produced a separation of the two countries. In case of another war, when such another special intervention of Providence might not take place, the extent of the coasts of Ireland was to be considered, exposed on one side to an attack from America—on another from France—from France, in this view, infinitely more formidable than she was under Napoleon. From a community of religious feeling, and from her possession of the ports of Spain, (given to her by our unwise and pusillanimous policy,) from whence it would be difficult to prevent the arrival on the shores of Ireland, of an invading fleet. If Ireland were left in its present state, such an attempt would be thereby encouraged, and success would separate that country from Ireland, and unite it with France. His Lordship proceeded to ridicule, in sarcasm of the bitterest description, the conduct of those opponents of the measure who seemed to appeal to the various oaths of supremacy, of allegiance, against transubstantiation, invocation of saints, &c., and who spoke of preserving individual consistency and honour; and afterwards addressed himself to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, in not suppressing the Roman Catholic Association. "I must reply," said his lordship, "to the complaint, that the laws have never been carried into execution in Ireland against Roman Catholic agitation, and that the power of government has never been sufficiently employed to put down the evil spirit in that country; the premier has, however, very

justly observed, that it was not very easy to direct the power of the state against parties who kept within the letter of the law, and presented no tangible object for the application of that power. Those who oppose this measure have hinted at a possible case, which they seem to contemplate with *no dislike*, in which severity might at last produce resistance; and the Irish people, provoked beyond endurance, and rushing into insurrection, might afford a favourable opportunity to subdue them effectually, by a vigorous exertion of our military power. They had urged it almost as a reproach against the noble duke, and as an instance of pusillanimity and weakness, that he has not had recourse to measures dictated by so cruel a policy. But the duke has himself most ably repelled this reproach; and I will not mar the force of the impression he has made upon your minds, by repeating the passage* in his speech on opening this debate, in which he described the horrors that would be the consequence of this dreadful alternative, a civil war, and the sacrifices he would make to avert it from his country. From him, of all men living, such a declaration came most gracefully,—from him, of all men, with the greatest effect; and I say, that the forbearance, which was attempted to be used as a reproach, I claim as a proof of his magnanimity, and of his humanity and wisdom, the best and surest foundations of true courage. For that with which he is taunted, I applaud him—for that which has been imputed to him as weakness, I more, if possible, than before, *admire and revere him*. The attempt to detract from his character, seems, in my mind, to adorn and to exalt it—that he, a soldier, red with the blood of a hundred battles, shrinks with fear, which he never felt before the enemies of his country, from the bare idea of a civil war—from the misery, the carnage, the desolation which must follow,—from all the horrors which he has so forcibly described—that he recoils from the necessity, whilst any chance of reconciliation remains, of shedding, in the ruin of a domestic contest, more of that blood which has been so profusely offered *to place on*

* Vide vol. IV. p. 257.

his head a crown of immortal glory, and to purchase for his country, honour, and security and peace,—that he thus feels and acts, entitles him, in my opinion, to the highest praise, both for christian charity and political wisdom.”

Earl Grey cited the Irish rebellion of 1798, as a precedent to show the improbability that a civil war, and the infliction of the severest punishments upon the Roman Catholics of Ireland, would produce the effect, which he asserted the opponents of the bill anticipated. The ocean of blood that had been spilt had not quenched the fires of discontent. The sufferings, the tortures, the imprisonments, and the executions, which then rendered the whole country a scene of horror, had not revived any feelings of affection in the people. The ashes of ruined towns and desolated vilages, seemed only to cover the slumbering embers of resentment, ready to burst out at any moment that might invite to a renewal of the attempts, which a galling sense of oppression then produced. Insurrection might be quelled by our military power—rebellion might be put down,—but the work would not be done—there would still remain, as after the rebellion of 1798, the seeds of the same dangers, always threatening—always preventing the progress of improvement, and keeping Ireland in the state in which it then was, and which had become intolerable. Open resistance might, for the moment be overcome; but there would still remain “the unconquerable will and study of revenge,” &c.

“By proposing this measure,” said Earl Grey, “the ministers have laid the foundation of a great and glorious work, and have entitled themselves to my support and confidence; and which I have cordially given them. I could not do otherwise, *consistently* with the principles on which I have always acted, which I learnt from Mr. Fox, and which I have maintained in this house by the side of Lord Grenville. The former, from the first moment of my public life, commanded my admiration and my love; and the event of this night afforded a new proof of his political foresight, sagacity, and wisdom.”

His lordship explained the views he had taken in the part

he had always acted, and the result that had attended his own labours in the cause of emancipation; he alluded to the ground of argument, used on this occasion in both houses, that of a divided cabinet, and of the employment of the same argument at one period, as of the utmost value, which, on many others, had been treated with contempt. "For the policy I have pursued," said the noble speaker, "I have been excluded from the councils of my sovereign. I have had excited against me the prejudices of the people; nay, even on this night, I have not escaped the charge of faction; but on this night I look with confidence to a full acknowledgment, from a great majority of this house, that the opinions that brought on me those penalties, were not contrary to the true interests of my country. This is to me a cause of unqualified satisfaction, and of some personal triumph. But, in saying this, do not let it be thought that I mean to advance my own claims to the credit of this measure, in derogation of those of the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues. *The whole merit is now theirs*; and I make the acknowledgment without grudging. It is impossible not to regret the time that has been lost, and that the justice and the necessity of the case were not sooner felt and acted upon. If it had been so, the work which we are now beginning, and which has been well described by the Marquis of Anglesey, as the re-establishment and regeneration of Ireland—the work of peace, and conciliation, and safety, might now have been far advanced towards its accomplishment and completion. But great difficulties were to be surmounted—fears to be allayed—old and deep-rooted prejudices to be overcome—and that even now, at the eleventh hour, the king's ministers had been able to remove the obstacles that were opposed to them, is a merit for which they shall always have the fullest acknowledgment from me. To the noble duke at the head of his majesty's councils, the praise of firmness and of wisdom, in following out the course prescribed to him by a just, humane, liberal, and enlightened policy, is more particularly due; and when the heats of this contest shall have passed away,

I cannot doubt that the people, whose interests he has so ably served, will acknowledge a debt of gratitude, not inferior to that which they already owe to him for his more splendid, perhaps, and more dazzling, but not more useful, or more glorious services, in another field."

The speech of Earl Grey contains matter affording ample subject for political reflections; but it would be unsuited to the purport or the character of these memoirs, to dwell upon any portion of it which is not in some degree related to the political conduct of the Duke of Wellington; whose military life the earl had never ceased to scrutinize and comment on without reserve. It is, however, due to him to acknowledge that, as he had attempted to prejudice the public mind against the military abilities of the illustrious duke, so he also, at a subsequent period, publicly retracted what he had asserted, and confessed that he had been, in that respect, a false prophet. In this instance his lordship's talents were employed in supporting and advocating the duke's political measures; and his candour cannot be too much applauded, in surrendering to the premier the sole and entire merit of carrying the emancipation bill; but, few public men have been less fortunate in their views of futurity than Earl Grey. Already it has been shown how singularly erroneous every anticipation of this eloquent senator, touching the movements of the Peninsular war, ultimately proved: we here find him (even when associated with the very individual whose conduct he then condemned as extravagant and visionary,) foretelling the *gratitude* of the Roman Catholic body to the noble author of their political liberty. This was the most unfortunate of all Earl Grey's political auguries; for, as will be shown hereafter, that body employed emancipation, and the power it conferred upon them, as a lever to remove the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues from place and from power; and many of those, who supported the measure of relief from the influence of the duke's example, became the victims of their conversion.

The Earl of Eldon again appeared as the champion of

Protestantism as connected with the state; his immediate object being to explain the motives which influenced him in the votes he had given on former occasions, for removing some of the grievances under which the Roman Catholic population laboured. He had assisted, in 1791, to relieve the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the penal statutes, because he considered those statutes only justifiable as they were necessary to support the constitution: he had assented to the act of 1793, which opened the elective franchise to the Irish Roman Catholics; and, in 1817, he had voted for the act which rendered them eligible to military rank: but he had always objected, and still continued to object, to the conferring of political power, admission to parliament, and offices under the crown, upon persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. If the safety and honour of this Protestant kingdom were to be preserved, it could only be so by a Protestant king, a Protestant house of peers, a Protestant house of commons, and Protestant officers of the crown. Catholics recognized no other supreme head but the pope; neither would they do so, if admitted to all the power proposed to be given them by the relief bill. For these, amongst a multitude of reasons, he never could give his assent to the bill.

Several statements made by the opponents of the measure, relative to the conduct of the premier in the whole proceeding, seeming to demand explanation, his grace rose and said, "that, in reference to the averment that the laws were not executed against the Catholic Association, he had stated in the last year, as well as on other occasions, his feelings on the subject; that it was extremely desirable, before anything was done for the Roman Catholics, that a period of tranquillity should be obtained. But although that was his opinion—and he believed that opinion to be just, and although he endeavoured to find the means of proceeding against the Association, for their conduct; yet being of opinion, that it was essential to the interests of the country to bring forward this measure, it would not have been his duty to refrain from so doing, whatever might have been the conduct of the Associa-

tion ; not that that conduct was what he wished it had been. He had also proposed to parliament a measure for the suppression of the Association, which had so far answered its object, that temporary tranquillity, at all events, had been obtained. Another point which he felt it incumbent on him to notice was, the repeated exclamation that the measure was dangerous to the church of England in Ireland. That danger, he supposed, was to be apprehended from legislation or from violence. If from legislation, the fear was puerile ; for it was absurd to suppose that the few who would obtain seats in the houses of parliament, while there was a Protestant sovereign on the throne, could afford any ground for apprehending danger from legislation to the church of England in Ireland. Besides, it was a fundamental article of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, that the churches should also be united ; so that it was clearly impossible any mischief could happen to the Irish branch of the united church without destroying the union of the two countries. “ I have,” said the duke, “ been also charged with inconsistency in my conduct. I admit that many of my colleagues, as well as myself, did, on former occasions, vote against a measure of a *similar description** with this ; and, when we adopted this measure, we felt that we should be sacrificing ourselves and our popularity to that which we knew to be our duty to our sovereign and our country. We knew that if we had chosen to put ourselves at the head of the ‘ No popery ’ cry, we should have been much more popular even than those who have excited against us that very cry ; but we felt that in so doing, we should have left on the interests of the country a burden, which must end in bearing them down ; and further, that we should have deserved the hate and execration of our countrymen. A noble earl on the cross bench has adverted particularly to me, and has mentioned, in terms of civility, the services which he said I had rendered to the country ; but I must tell the noble earl, that be those services what they

* Relating to the emancipation of Roman Catholics, but, by no means similar in circumstances to this, which the duke himself had brought forward.

may, I rendered them through good repute and through bad repute; and that I was never prevented from rendering them by any cry which was excited against me at the moment. I am accused of having used secresy during the progress of these measures; but the individual who brings the accusation has done to me that which he complains of others having done to himself; or, in the language of a common friend, has thrown a large paving-stone instead of throwing a small pebble. He has not dealt fairly with me: he ought not to have accused me of improper conduct until he had known the day on which I had received permission to open my mouth upon this measure." With respect to a dissolution of parliament, from which the enemies of the bill seemed to expect an acquisition of strength and numbers, he did not think that the consequences would be such as they fondly anticipated. "Besides," said his grace, "when I know, as I did know, and do know, the state of the elective franchise in Ireland; when I recollected the number of men it took to watch one election which took place in Ireland, in the course of last summer; when I knew the consequences a dissolution would produce upon the house of commons, to say nothing of the risk that must have been incurred at each election; of collisions that might have led to something little short of civil war:—I say, that knowing all these things, I should have been wanting in my duty to my sovereign and to my country, if I had advised his majesty to dissolve his parliament." The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of one hundred and five, upon which the house adjourned; and, on the sixth of April, his grace proposed the second reading of the bill for disfranchising the Irish forty-shilling freeholders, which was agreed to by a still larger number; several of the members of that house having always looked upon that privilege as one that had been flagrantly abused.

The tenth of April being fixed on for the final discussion of this great measure of extensive toleration, his grace, on that day, with some few remarks, commenced the business of the house. Amongst those who delivered their ultimate reasons

for disapproving, totally, of the bill, was the venerable Earl of Eldon, who had then passed the greater portion of an useful life in the public service, and was held in the highest esteem for integrity of character, and extensive legal attainments. He cautioned the house against the error of supposing that the Duke of Wellington's bill was identical with that of Mr. Pitt: Mr. Pitt's measure would not have been forced upon the people contrary to their will; it would not have been unaccompanied with securities; nor without some means of insuring the moral benefits which resulted from the purer system of Christianity. He knew and understood Mr. Pitt's views on this question. His correspondence with George III. supported this view; yet he (Lord Eldon) conscientiously disapproved of that great statesman's proposition for admitting Roman Catholics to place and power. He differed still further from the proposition of the Duke of Wellington, and, with equal regret; with respect to Mr. Peel, the leader of the commons' house of parliament, "there never was a man to whose feelings and opinions he was more sincerely attached; and no circumstance of his life gave him more pain than the divulsion from him on this question." His lordship rejected the imputation of the Duke of Wellington, that he had thrown either a paving-stone or a pebble at him; and without imputing any improper motive to his grace, he repeated his declaration, that "The country had been taken by surprise by this measure, and by the manner in which it was introduced." He contended that the letter of his grace to Dr. Curtis, like oil poured on the waves of the sea, was intended to still agitation; but that it was also calculated to produce, and did produce, an impression that no measure would be introduced, in this session, affecting Roman Catholics: and to such an extent did that impression prevail, that persons were uniting in different parts of the country, not to oppose any measure of government, but to act in support of government against any further concession. When he considered this, and when it was known that such was the balance of opinion in the other house, that only a majority of

six was found in favour of it at the last division in that house;—without meaning to attack the duke, but arguing between him and the country,—he must say, “that the country could not have expected such a measure, and that its introduction was a *surprise* to the country.”

“Locke and Bishop Hoadly had been quoted by the Bishop of Norwich, as persons favourable to Catholic emancipation: he was totally mistaken in naming the philosopher as a patron of that policy; and, as to Dr. Hoadly, he had himself heard him deprecate the Catholic claims from the pulpit, on the fifth of November. The learned lord closed his argumentative address by declaring, “that he would rather hear that he was not to exist on the following morning, than awake to the reflection, that he had consented to an act, which had stamped him as a violator of his solemn oath, an apostate from his church, and a traitor to the constitution.”

Amongst the distinguished persons who took part in the debate, on the third reading of the relief-bill, was the Duke of Cumberland (afterwards King of Hanover). His royal highness said, “he had paid attention to all that had been said upon the subject during these discussions; but could find nothing in any of them—in which much that was painful to himself had occurred—which could induce him to alter the conviction which he had previously avowed, and which he conscientiously entertained upon the measure. In the resistance which he had made to it, he had not been actuated by any feelings of opposition to Roman Catholics; but he was unwilling to sanction a measure which he considered to be a breach of the constitution. At the outset of these proceedings he had stated his opinion to the Duke of Wellington; and, at the same time, intimated to him, that, if anything should occur, in the course of the discussion, to change that opinion, he would communicate it to him; but, as nothing had occurred, in the progress of the measure, to change the impression which he originally entertained of it, he felt it his duty, sincerely and conscientiously, to continue his opposition to it.” The Duke of Cumberland was followed in the debate

by his brother, the Duke of Sussex, whose views were diametrically opposite. This illustrious personage said, that "the broad principle of the British constitution was comprised in the maxim, '*Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus justitiam vel rectum.*' The exception from this general rule, would, as against Catholics, be a violation of the constitution, and contrary to the rights of men." "I have before," said his royal highness, "expressed my gratitude to the Duke of Wellington for the part he has so nobly acted. No soldier ever more faithfully followed his general in the field, than I have followed the noble duke in the path which his policy has pointed out; and I assure him, that the victory which he has obtained in this instance, will far eclipse any of those which he has gained in the tented field. The laurels which he has so long worn as the fruits of conquest, will be hereafter exchanged for the olive of peace; and his reward will consist, not only in the approbation of his own conscience, and the happiness which that consciousness bestows, but in the lively gratitude of millions, rendered happy and content, and restored to their place in society, by his intrepid patriotism and devotion to the interests of mankind. I beg to assure the Duke of Wellington, that no man in the whole empire feels more grateful to him than I do, for the benefit which he has conferred on his country."

Some further discussion, of an angry character, ensued; after which the Duke of Wellington rose, and delivered the last appeal circumstances ever demanded of him, in favour of granting to Roman Catholics a participation in the civil, political, and military affairs of this empire. His grace totally denied the charge made against him by Lord Eldon, of having taken the country by surprise; and maintained that the earliest intimation that could be given was given; and that was by the king's speech: and he also appealed to the immense number of petitions presented against the bill, in testimony of the same fact. "His lordship has complained," said the duke, "that the question has been hurried through this house; but I think no question has ever been

more fairly or fully discussed. It is quite true, that I have been anxious that this bill should be carried before the Easter holydays; it is quite true, that parliament should now, as soon as possible, pass the measure; because I am anxious to put an end to the agitation which prevails on this subject;—I will not say, in the country, but in this town,—where the great majority of the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the city of London, and of the people at large, are in favour of the measure.” His grace replied at length to each respective argument of Lord Eldon; and expressed, in the warmest and most confident tone, his conviction that the relief-bill would stifle agitation, and render tranquillity permanent in Ireland: but, that, if such effects should not follow; if it should be attended with the consequences predicted by Lord Eldon—in which prediction, however, he placed no faith; then he and his colleagues, who were the responsible advisers of the crown, would ask parliament to adopt other measures, that would tend more effectually to insure the security, prosperity, and happiness of Ireland. It gave him great concern, that his advocacy of this measure had been the cause of separating him from many of his noble friends, particularly the venerable Earl of Eldon: and his grace observed, with much sorrow, that the Duke of Cumberland had also withdrawn his confidence from him. “For the opinion of that illustrious personage,” said the duke, “I entertain every respect; but I confess, that though I knew the zeal, anxiety, and intensity of feeling, which he manifested at an early period of this session against the measure, before it had come under the consideration of this house, I flattered myself, that when the measure had been fully discussed, it would not induce the illustrious individual to pronounce the withdrawal of his confidence from me and my colleagues. The duty which I had to perform has unfortunately separated me from many of my friends; but it was a duty which imperiously devolved upon me, and from the discharge of which no consideration whatever could induce me to shrink. I am confident that the results of this measure will be such as to convince even those who are now most opposed



From an Enamel by Jas. Lee,—Painted by Tho^s Phillips, Esq. R.A.

Engraved by H. Robinson

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE
AUGUSTUS-FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX, &c. K.G.-K.T.-G.C.H.-P.C. &c. &c. &c.

Augustus Frederick

to it, of its wisdom and necessity under the existing circumstances of the country. All I will say is, that I have not uttered a word on this question, nor done any thing in regard to it, which I have not considered it my duty to his majesty and the public, either to do or to say. Although I have to regret a separation from some noble friends, I have the consolation to think, that many lords who have hitherto differed from me on other subjects, have given me their confidence and support on this question. I cannot sit down without congratulating the house and the country, that this measure has now arrived almost at its final stage in this house, and I confidently trust, that ere long, we shall behold its beneficial effects displayed in the establishment of the peace, the happiness, the prosperity of the United Kingdom."

Upon the conclusion of the duke's speech, the house divided, when the third reading of the bill was carried by a majority of one hundred and four; and, immediately after, the disfranchisement bill was also agreed to.

Well might the Duke of Sussex have congratulated the Duke of Wellington upon this political victory,—a triumph reserved by providence for this remarkable man. It was in vain that the ablest statesmen had attempted to render such a measure palatable to the English people; their greatest efforts, added to their lofty genius, proved wholly unequal to the difficulty. Undismayed by their signal failures, the duke undertook to accomplish the object; and, warned by the example of his predecessors, adopted means wholly different from theirs. It is to the imputed secrecy with which he acted,—to the alleged surprise by which the country was taken,—the new political alliances which he had just then formed,—the personal influence which he possessed over some of the principal characters of his age; it is to these means, undoubtedly, the success of the project is attributable. Conscious of this fact, he seemed indisposed to share his victory with another; and, when any individual stepped in to disturb his path, he exhibited marked symptoms of displeasure.—How shall posterity say that he was not justified in doing so,—there were none who felt that the

victory was not due to his enterprise. This feeling will account for a part of the duke's conduct, towards some of his colleagues in the ministry, which may otherwise appear both hasty and harsh; for he had secured a victory, and was resolved that he should be seated alone in the triumphal car. In bringing this measure to a prosperous issue, notwithstanding the tact and ability with which the arrangements for that purpose were conducted, considerable alarm was excited throughout England; and, in the space of two months, the whole length of time given for consideration, co-operation, and action, two thousand five hundred and twenty-one petitions were presented to the house of lords, and two thousand and ten to the commons, against all further concessions to Roman Catholics, whilst the number of those presented in favour of the measure only amounted to one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four. From this examination, it would appear, that the Duke of Wellington carried this measure not only in opposition to a large and influential part of the aristocracy, but actually against the wishes of the English people. Surprise at this result is still further increased by the recollection of those great men,* who had devoted themselves to the attainment of the same object, with an earnestness and energy never exceeded; and yet the record of their failure is all that history has preserved of their labours.†

* Pitt, Grenville, Fox, Dundas, Grattan, and Canning.

† *Retrospective view of the Catholic question.*—In 1805, a majority of 129 in the house of lords, and 212 in the commons, refused to entertain the petition of the Catholics, which was entrusted to Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox. In 1808, Mr. Grattan's motion was rejected in the house of Commons by a majority of 153; and Lord Donoughmore's, in the lords, by a majority of 87. In 1810, the same individuals were again defeated in a similar motion by a majority of 112 in the commons, and 86 in the lords; and, in 1812, they were once more defeated by a majority of 72 in the lords, and of 85 in the commons. Mr. Canning was also defeated, in the same year, by a majority of 129, and the Marquis Wellesley by a majority of 1. In 1813, Mr. Grattan, Sir John Cox Hppisley, and Dr. Duigenan, on separate motions, drew forth majorities against the Catholics of 40, 48, 42; and, on the 24th of May, in that year, the bill was given up. In 1821, Mr. Plunkett carried the bill through the house of commons, by a majority of 19; but it was lost in the lords by one of 39. In 1822, Mr. Canning carried it by a majority of 21, but it was thrown out in

There were many persons of rank, fortune, intelligence, and liberal sentiments, at that, and, no doubt, at subsequent periods also, who believed that the Duke of Wellington had deceived himself, by supposing emancipation to be a panacea for the convulsions of Ireland, and that his too liberal views were the consequence of extensive intercourse with different nations, and people, and castes, and creeds. These individuals were as firmly convinced as the Earl of Eldon, that his grace would live to regret his successful labours in the Roman Catholic cause. Of these, (and they were many in England,) it is not probable that there was an individual who supposed that he acted from any but the best, purest, most conscientious motives,—from a sense of what was right, solely and exclusively, independently of every other earthly consideration. This was the public belief at the period when the measure was passed; it was ever subsequently the concurrent testimony of the English nation.

The bill having passed the upper house on the tenth, on the thirteenth received the royal assent, and thenceforth became the law of the land.

By nature, and by habit, the Duke of Wellington became possessed of an extraordinary degree of bodily activity—a capability of enduring personal fatigue, accompanied by a power of abstracting his mind wholly, and rapidly, from one subject, and of applying it, almost instantly, to another. Such obviously anxious devotion as his, to the conduct of the relief-bill, would have engrossed the mind, and the time, of any other man so entirely, that all other occupations would have been postponed or forgotten, and recreation wholly dispensed with. In the duke's the other house by a majority of 42. In 1825, Sir Francis Burdett carried it in the commons, by a majority of 27: but it was again rejected in the lords by a majority of 48. In 1827, Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a committee was lost in the commons by a majority of 3. In 1828, the motion for a conference with the lords was carried in the commons by a majority of 6; but rejected in the lords by a majority of 45. In 1829, the Duke of Wellington's bill, for the total unqualified emancipation of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, was carried in the commons by Mr. Peel, with a majority of 160 on the second reading, and 178 on the third; and, through the upper house, by a majority of 105 on the second reading, and 104 on the third.

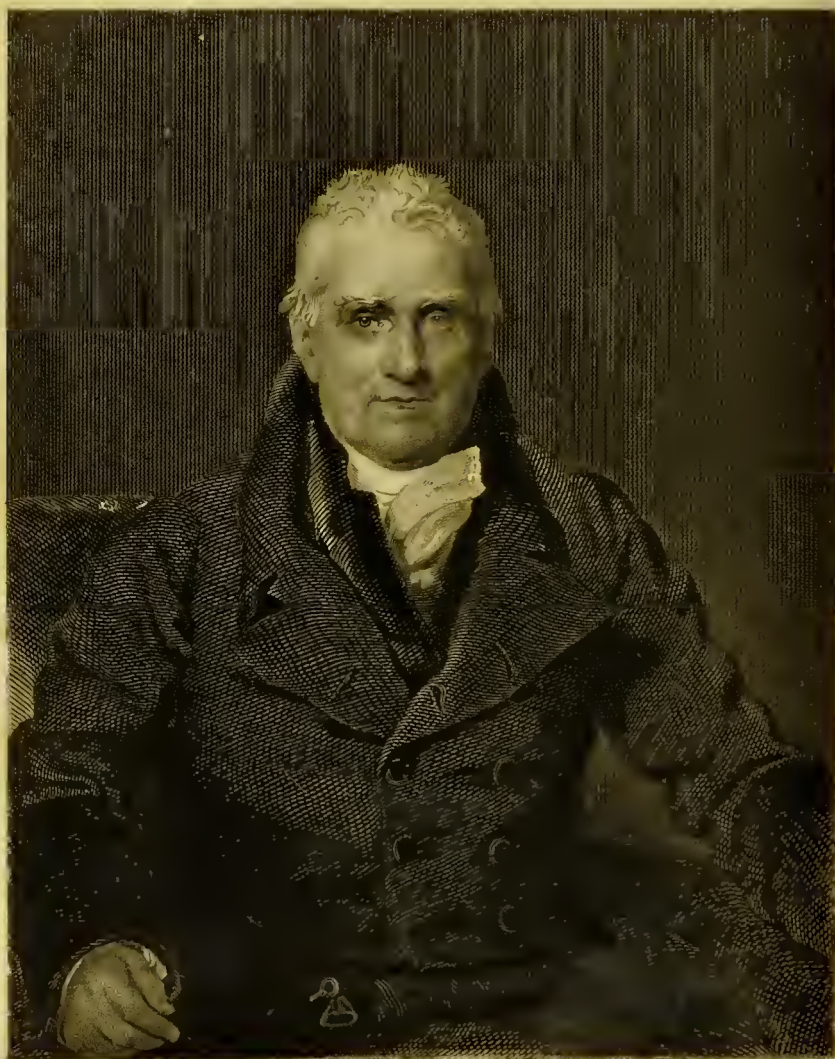
peculiar instance, however, that does not appear to have been the case; for his public duties were as fully discharged as before, without any desertion or neglect of his private interests.

It was at this period of great political agitation, that the improvements at Windsor Castle were in progress, from the masterly plans of Sir Jeffrey Wyatville. To superintend these costly adaptations in the great national palace of England, three commissioners, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Farnborough, and the Duke of Wellington were appointed; and the attention which the premier bestowed upon this very interesting duty was undeviating, and uninterrupted by any more serious claim upon his services. The manner in which he distributed his time was calculated to promote health, and enable him to accept and fulfil many appointments in each day; and the comprehensiveness of his mind enabled him to grapple with many different subjects within a very limited period. On the opening of spring, in this memorable year, when the duties of his office were onerous, the premier was seen enjoying a constitutional walk in the enclosure of St. James's Park, at seven o'clock each morning; from whence, after two hours' exercise, he returned to Apsley house; and, from ten o'clock, gave up the rest of the day to public business; in the afternoon he was frequently to be found at some public meeting or private assembly. On one occasion, his grace, having presided at the City of London Orphan Establishment, proceeded thence to witness a French play at the English Opera house; and, from that entertainment, to a party given by the lady of the Dutch ambassador, in Bryanston square. He appears to have lost no opportunity of employing time profitably. On his visits to Windsor, for exercise and recreation, he generally rode part of the way on horseback, completing the distance in a light open travelling carriage, in which he had journeyed much in Russia, thereby guarding against the lassitude of extreme fatigue. It has been said, that amidst this multiplicity of avocations, private interests were not neglected; this fact will, perhaps, be sufficiently shown by the statement of his grace having now added to his principal estate, the whole of

the Silchester property, by which accession, his territorial possessions, in Hampshire, acquired a circuit of thirty miles; while his mansion of Strathfieldsay might be approached by a direct avenue, eight miles in length, traversing his grace's domains solely. His frequent appearance in the public streets, parks, and places of amusement, subjected him occasionally to inconvenience. As he walked in St. James's park, one morning, in the early part of April, accompanied by Lord Fitzroy Somerset, he was rudely accosted by a man, who demanded payment of money due to him for his services in Spain. The duke desired him not to follow him; which drew forth such a torrent of abuse, that an officer, who was present, took him into custody. Upon appearing before a magistrate, he stated, "that he had but seven-pence a day for his services in the Peninsula, and that the duke had behaved insolently in not listening to his statement." The remonstrance of the magistrate, however, produced an unexpected effect; the defendant suddenly breaking out into absurd exclamations, that he was a descendant of Henry the VIIIth, and various other incoherent remarks, evidently made with a view to impress his hearers with the idea that he was not in his perfect mind. After a short confinement, and on the promise of better conduct in future, he was liberated. A few days only had passed away, from the occurrence of the incident just related, when a second, less menacing, but little less inconvenient, happened to the premier in Hyde-park. As his grace proceeded out of the grand gateway, having just witnessed a review of the troops, he was followed by a crowd of persons, who cheered him in the most enthusiastic manner as he proceeded. Acquiring a rapid increase of numbers, and additional courage from the condescending manner of the duke, hundreds pressed forward to come up beside his horse, and to have the honour of taking the hero by the hand. Being unattended by any of his staff, the object was more easily attainable, until at length his situation became embarrassing,—both his hands being grasped with such fervency, that he had no command whatever over his horse. He continued to submit to these well-meant, hearty congratulations, with the most perfect

good-nature; occasionally calling out, "Mind the horse, my good fellows; don't pull me off;" and other brief, but gentle remonstrances. Two men, who had, early in the affair, succeeded in taking the warrior by the hand, now transferred their attention to his charger, which they deliberately led by the bridle through the crowd. At length a gentleman on horseback, who perceived the awkwardness of the duke's situation, forced his way through the dense crowd, and came to his assistance just as he had reached the entrance to the Green Park: by the polite attention of this new aid-de-camp, he was enabled to proceed down Constitution Hill, still followed by the multitudes, whose shouts literally rent the air. Here, fortunately, a party of the Bow-street patrol came up, and escorted his grace to the back gate of the Treasury, where he alighted; and, having handed a key to the gentleman who accompanied him, the latter opened the door, and the duke entered, having first bowed, with the greatest urbanity, to the immense multitude assembled.

This demonstration was totally unconnected with anything political; it originated in the natural desire of his noisy admirers, to have the gratification of beholding more nearly the conqueror of Napoleon, and of being able to boast, amongst their fellows, of having taken so great a character by the hand. A meeting, held a few days after this incident, at the London Tavern, however, originated in a motive confessedly political—the short-lived gratitude of the Roman Catholics *as a body*. At this assemblage, called for the purpose of opening a public subscription to erect a statue to the Duke of Wellington, in or near Dublin, in commemoration of his having accomplished the invaluable work of religious peace, by recommending to his majesty to emancipate his Roman Catholic subjects, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Downshire, Lords Clifford and Stourton, Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, Grattan, Hume, Mahoney, &c. were present; appropriate resolutions were passed, and the warmest sentiments of thankfulness expressed by several leading characters. But the Catholics, generally, never



Painted by Sir Tho^s. Lawrence, P. R. A.

JOHN SCOTT, FIRST EARL OF ELDON.

2^d ed. by the Earl of Eldon, 1844

Eldon

responded to the invitation; and a few years only were required to prove, that the public have always been as deficient in gratitude as they are untaught by experience,—the pledges of that meeting being then forgotten.

The premier had discharged what he considered to be his duty to his country, and accomplished a measure exceedingly unpopular in England, under the firm belief that the tranquillity of Ireland would be the consequence; in which that of the whole empire was, to a certain limit, involved. To effect this purpose he had made considerable sacrifices, both as regarded public adherents and private friends; and his example and influence had involved several of his colleagues in similar political abandonment. The expressions of regret, uttered by the learned Lord Eldon, at the conduct of the premier and Mr. Peel, might be sufficient evidence of the divulsion which this measure, or rather the manner in which it was brought forward, produced amongst the church and state party. "It is my firm belief," said the venerable lawyer, "that the ministers who introduced this bill are actuated by a sense of duty to their country; yet who but must lament their conduct? who but must condemn the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel of wilfully deceiving the people, and bringing them into a state of apathy, by leading them into a persuasion that no measure of the kind would be brought forward at least this session." "I mention Mr. Peel without the slightest feeling of irritation; and, if there be any unfavourable impression on his mind towards me, from thinking that the old maxim, '*idem velle atque idem nolle*,' is the foundation of all true friendship, both in public and private life, I solemnly declare, that I suffered the most excruciating pang I ever endured, when I found that I differed on this question from one, in whose concurrence in my opinions for the last fifteen years I found the most effectual support." During the deliverance of the latter passage relating to Mr. Peel, his lordship seemed to be much affected, and his emotions produced a strong sensation in the house.

But the painful effects of the caution and the surprise

employed by ministers, or rather by the premier, to carry the measure of religious relief, were not confined to the disruption of friendship between his grace and those who opposed the measure itself; but, unhappily, extended to some who actually adopted his grace's views of the question, but who had become political sacrifices to that secrecy which the duke conceived to be imposed upon him by circumstances. It was an event publicly regretted, that the individual whose military services and high renown placed him next in estimation, not only in England, but throughout Europe, to the duke himself, should have been the offering, now publicly made, to the promotion of the measure of Roman Catholic relief, which ministers had determined upon making a cabinet question. The generosity of the chivalrous nobleman who held the government of Ireland, upon his being so suddenly and unceremoniously recalled from that kingdom, induced him to postpone the consideration of personal injuries to that of the public interests; but, now, the contest being over, and the arena unoccupied, the Marquis of Anglesey conceived the proper opportunity had arrived for demanding that explanation from the Duke of Wellington, which he felt to be due to his character, not merely as a popular governor, but also as a just, generous, and prudent one.

Having selected the fourth of May for making a public appeal to ministers in his place in parliament, on that day he rose, and moved for the production of two letters, or copies of them, which passed between the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the secretary for the home department, in the month of January preceding. In introducing the motion, the noble marquis said, "that he had been looking forward to this moment with the greatest anxiety and impatience, because he had been suffering under a severe stigma and rebuke, and had been subjected to many misrepresentations and insinuations, from which he felt conscious that he had the means of relieving himself; yet he confessed that he was oppressed by difficulties,—those difficulties were not confined to the unpleasant task of speaking of himself, but embraced one still more ungracious,

the appearance of wishing to criminate, or rather inculcate others—a motive, said his lordship, which I wholly disclaim. My purpose is, to explain the circumstances tending to my sudden recall from Ireland—of the unusual manner of that recall—of the subsequent dismissal from my high situation—of the letter which is said to have induced it : previously, however, relieving myself from the insinuations of having neglected the Protestant interests — of having encouraged the agitators—of having failed to put down the Catholic Association,—in fine, of having generally neglected the duties of my situation.” His lordship took a review of the conduct of the Irish Catholics, and of his prudential plans for the preservation of order in that country, during his viceroyalty, and the secretaryship of Mr. Lamb, (Lord Melbourne.) He read extracts from various letters, which showed, unquestionably, the anxious, lively interest, which he had taken in the regeneration of Ireland, in which, his desire to open roads, and find employment for the starving population of the southern counties, evinced a more rational estimate of the wants of Ireland, than the proposition of breaking imaginary bonds, and conferring upon an unemployed and impoverished, but amazingly intelligent people, new political privileges.

It is unnecessary to quote the arguments employed by the Marquis of Anglesey to defend himself from insinuations, which he clearly and ably refuted, because these insinuations were not credited by the country—were sufficiently answered and explained by the sudden introduction of the emancipation-act—and because the whole nation sympathized with the gallant soldier, from the moment that his recall was made public. It had been very generally supposed, that Lord Anglesey’s letter to Dr. Curtis was the sole cause of his removal from the viceroyalty; his lordship now stated the occasion of displeasure, on the part of the king, to have arisen from his not having removed Messrs. Mahon and Steele from the magistracy. These gentlemen adopting the views of the Catholic Association, dressed themselves in green ribbands, and, with other distinctive emblems, rode about the

country, encouraging, in every way, what was called "agitation." The Marquis of Anglesey declined to remove them from the commission of the peace, because they had never misconducted themselves in that capacity, nor employed any of these party decorations in their administration of justice. Another complaint urged by his grace the Duke of Wellington, in his correspondence with the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was, his excellency having been a guest of Lord Cloncurry, an individual who actually harangued the members of the Association on the day next after that honour had been conferred on him. This charge was answered, by referring to the fact of Lord Cloncurry's having dined with King George the IVth, at the royal lodge in Phoenix Park. The explanation was obviously sufficient, but, in the very lengthened correspondence that was conducted between the premier and the lord-lieutenant, various sentiments were expressed, which rendered their association in the government no longer desirable by either party. The principal facts contained in these letters, as far as they related to any direct acts of his excellency, have been already noticed; from which it would appear that his letter to Dr. Curtis was not considered material; in fact, it is not noticed at all in the duke's letter of the twenty-eighth of December, 1828, which was tantamount to an acceptance of Lord Anglesey's resignation, and which his excellency having so understood, replied to, by stating, "that he held himself in readiness to resign his trust to those whom his majesty might appoint." Here he expected the correspondence would have closed, but it was not so; the unkindest as well as the most unnecessary part of the ministerial conduct followed: this was a letter of reproof from the home-secretary, Mr. Peel, ascribing his majesty's displeasure solely, and entirely, to the letter of his excellency to Dr. Curtis, which had then appeared in the public journals. Lord Anglesey did not deny the prerogative of the king to appoint and remove his viceroys of Ireland: he complained of the silence of ministers, during the six weeks that followed the Duke of Wellington's remonstrance relative to Messrs. Steele and Mahon, and to Lord Cloncurry; and of

their passing by his letter to Dr. Curtis until their having recalled him on general ground, and then impugning the propriety of his conduct in that instance only. His lordship concluded by defending the language of that letter, which was never meant for publication, and by moving for a copy of Mr. Peel's letter, dated the tenth of January, 1829.

His grace, in reply, stated his expectation that the Marquis of Anglesey would have refrained altogether from making this motion, and have spared him the necessity of touching on the subject at that late period of the session. He thought that when the frequent mention of Irish affairs, and the policy pursued towards Ireland in that session, were remembered; and also, that he had intentionally abstained, during the discussions on this project, from making any personal allusion to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or of making any charge against his government; and, when he had at all times, when the conduct of that government had been questioned, taken upon himself the responsibility and the defence of Lord Anglesey's government of Ireland; — under these circumstances, that he would not have had occasion, at any time, but particularly at that period, to enter upon the subject. His grace, however, objected totally to the production of the papers moved for, conceiving that the house had not the power, or right, to interfere with the prerogative of the crown in the appointment or removal of ministers, except in cases where the public may be subjected to injury or inconvenience, or in cases when parliament may feel it necessary to interfere for the dismissal of those who have been found guilty of abuses in their official situations. His grace alluded to the very great inconvenience that would arise, if explanations were demanded from ministers in all such instances; and rested his reasoning partly upon the very lengthened correspondence between the Marquis of Anglesey and the Government, which had then been read to the house, without putting the house into possession of all the necessary facts. His grace acknowledged that it was not in consequence of his excellency's letter to Dr. Curtis, that the marquis had been

removed from the viceroyalty, but in consequence of the correspondence that had passed between himself and the marquis, chiefly relating to the Roman Catholic body. His grace, however, dwelt much upon that particular letter, regretted that the correspondence had been made public, and thought that the Marquis of Anglesey had mistaken the precise nature of the consent, which the king had given to the reading of any documents connected with his removal from power, in the house of lords. The duke also expressed his surprise that Lord Anglesey had not been aware of his intentions, relative to the proposed emancipation of the Roman Catholics, until after his confidential letter to Dr. Curtis, and read a letter, addressed by himself to Lord Anglesey, which, he seemed to think, should have cleared away every doubt from his lordship's mind as to the time and manner of bringing forward the question. That letter, however, is by no means clear; in fact, without the key which subsequent events now supply, the interpretation which his grace afforded would not readily have been perceived. As the question of Catholic emancipation was set at rest; as the ministers who carried that question commanded a majority in that house; as the members were weary of Irish affairs at that period of the session; and, as the only possible object which the gallant marquis could obtain, by the most entire triumph, could but have been what he did accomplish—an opportunity of placing the purity of his motives, and consistency of his political conduct, before the house and the country, the motion did not proceed to a division.—It must have proved a source of self-gratification to the Marquis of Anglesey, to witness, as he lived to do, the precise policy, which he observed in his government of Ireland, carried out by his successors to the fullest extent. It is not here intended to express any opinion upon the merits of that policy; such would be merely personal, and equally foreign to the object of these memoirs; what is here stated, is that which posterity may implicitly credit, namely, that the measures of Lord Anglesey, when viceroy of Ireland, originated in the purest and most generous motives; and that, for many subsequent

years, his views were embraced and acted on by different administrations.

During the remainder of the session, a sort of apathy was exhibited by the parties who had been exhausted in the strife: a considerable degree of triumph was, very naturally, manifested by the Roman Catholics themselves; but these demonstrations being confined to Ireland, and to foreign Catholic countries, produced little sensation in England. There, from an inherent attachment to the institutions of the country, however obnoxious any measure may have been to the people generally, when it has become law, they no longer resist or deprecate it. The premier was now, therefore, left at leisure to pursue those varied subjects, which appear to have claimed his attention at all periods of his useful life; and while the session lasted, he was a constant attendant in his place: when it closed, he was to be seen at every public meeting of an evidently national character, displaying an activity, which rather tended to allay surprise at the uniform success of his public conduct in every capacity. Before the twenty-fourth of June, when parliament was prorogued by commissioners, his grace felt called on but once only to participate, actively, in propositions before the house; that was, in resisting the motion for the production of certain returns from the corporation of London, particularly those which had reference to the bill for finishing the approaches to the new London bridge. On this subject he exhibited an unusual degree of warmth, expressed an anxious wish that the question might be left to the committee, and disapproved of any motion, as unjust, which called for returns respecting the private property of the corporation.

The state of Europe, at this period, rendered the conduct of our foreign relations a task of no ordinary difficulty; and well may Great Britain congratulate herself, that in such agitated waters, over which a revolutionary tempest swept, more general in its character than had ever before been known, a pilot had been found, possessing unequalled experience, the most unqualified confidence, and a firmness which

no terrors could shake. It was by his steady, undeviating policy, and his high reputation in foreign countries, that the Duke of Wellington was enabled to save England from the intrusion of revolutionary principles; the mischievous emissaries of commotion in France, and elsewhere, being deeply impressed with the terror of the hero's name, the weight of his personal influence all over the world, and the resolute manner in which he employed the high powers then committed to his direction. The fixed attention of the premier upon the condition of the British population, did not prevent his most watchful observance of the deplorable progress of revolution in France, Belgium, Portugal, Poland, Bavaria, and minor states. With some of these countries England, obviously, had no right to interfere; others had no claim upon her mediation or military aid. The circumstances of Portugal, where an usurpation of the throne had taken place by Don Miguel, to the exclusion of his niece, Queen Donna Maria, were somewhat different. England had recognized a fact that was indisputable—the legitimate right of Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal; and the youthful sovereign was received with all the ceremony paid to crowned heads, at the court of St. James's. Besides, Portugal was an ancient ally of England, and the countries were bound to each other by many a treaty of close friendship. At another period, one of less peril to the settled governments of Europe, and to the stability of those that had been respected as legitimate monarchies, it is not improbable that the cabinet of England would have taken either a principal, or a mediatorial part, in the Portuguese question; but upon these considerations, or others less obvious, the Wellington cabinet decided against any interference, by this country, in the internal affairs of Portugal, and upon the observance of the strictest neutrality, in the sanguinary quarrel, just then commenced, between the Queen of Portugal and the usurper of her throne. So scrupulously exact were the British ministry in causing neutrality to be observed, that an expedition directed against Terceira, in favour of the queen, was frustrated by the interference of Captain Walpole, of the *Ranger*.

This expedition, which included six hundred Portuguese emigrant military, had been secretly fitted out at Plymouth, under a pretended destination for Brazil; but, the Earl of Aberdeen, suspecting its real object, directed Captain Walpole to prevent the emigrants from landing. The infamous means employed by Don Miguel to secure his seat upon the throne of Portugal, exceeding, as they did, anything to be found in modern history, naturally called forth the indignation of a large portion of the British public; and the coldness of ministers was censured in the most unmeasured terms. The merit of foresight cannot be conceded to the calculating, cold-hearted government, that withheld its assistance from a people who were subjected to the most wanton, ferocious, and unprincipled monster that ever disgraced a diadem; for, the forbearance of England did not arise from any conviction as to what would be the result, our resolution was formed upon the ground of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Having deliberately arrived at this conclusion, the assaults of the opposition, or the approaches of influence, were employed in vain to induce the Duke of Wellington to depart, in the slightest instance, from the line which he had marked out for the instruction of his colleagues.

Such was the impending fate of Portugal, while the insurrectionary war in Greece was progressing to its close, and a further dismemberment of the Turkish empire meditated. The blow which the Ottoman power received, by the unexpected battle of Navarino, fell with a ruinous weight upon that empire; while the sagacity of Ibrahim Pacha, who now perceived the approaching regeneration of ancient Greece, led him to abandon the Morea to the Patriots: their protectors, England, France, and Russia, accordingly agreed, without condescending to communicate their determination to the sultan, or the senate at Argos, that Greece should live again, and be one of the nations of Europe; that she should henceforth be ruled by an independent sovereign, who must be a Christian prince, but not a member of any of the reigning families by whose instrumentality the Greeks recovered their liberty. This treaty was shortly after carried into effect by the election of Otho of

Bavaria to the throne of Cecrops; an honour which had been previously offered to Prince Leopold, of Saxe Coburg, but declined. The war which devastated Turkey—and in which the Mussulman undeceived all those countries of Europe that had hitherto formed a chivalrous idea of his gallantry, by flying before the forces of the Czar, and abandoning his home to the Russian, almost without striking a blow—was now brought to a conclusion by the valour and activity of Count Diebitsch, and by the most abject submission on the part of Turkey. No little art was employed, no less secrecy observed, in the execution of the treaty by the Russians, who were fully sensible of the value of peace, on any terms, to the crowned heads of Europe.

A new scene, however, was disclosed in France, in which actors appeared whom the French people disliked, and surrounding nations must have distrusted. A change took place in the ministry at an inauspicious moment, and Prince Polignac, intimately known to the Duke of Wellington, and much esteemed in England, was placed at its head. This unfortunate nobleman has been censured by flippant politicians for disregarding the advice of the Duke of Wellington, who had strongly urged upon him the necessity for liberal measures. The prince served an arbitrary tyrant; and it was by too faithful an allegiance to this imbecile despot, too scrupulous an interpretation of the nature of the bonds that held him in that fealty, not from a desire, personally, to enslave his countrymen, that the minister was subsequently sacrificed. Polignac assumed as colleagues men who belonged to the extreme right—Courvoisier, Rigny, Montbel, Crousel, Labourdonnaye, and Bourmont; these men were the representatives of the priests and the emigrants, and favourable to irresponsible power in politics, and spiritual domination. The Duke of Wellington is believed to have advised against the admission of Labourdonnaye, but in vain; he was installed, notwithstanding the British minister's remonstrance; but the notoriety of his infamous scheme of proscription excited such universal disgust, that he was obliged to relinquish his office immediately after his appointment: Obnoxious as this individual was to the French people, he was virtuous in com-

parison with Bourmont, whom they believed to have betrayed Napoleon at Waterloo ; so that this man's accession to power supplied the fuel to that flame of revolution, which was only extinguished by the fall of the monarch and of his arbitrary ministers. Had Prince Polignac hearkened to the wise precepts of a faithful friend and an able statesman, he might possibly have saved his royal master from disgrace and dethronement, himself from cruel incarceration and exile ; and Europe would have been spared the sanguinary spectacles which ensued in other countries, of revolution and rebellion, after the example of fickle France.

The state of Europe, then, at this juncture, was somewhat extraordinary : but a few short years had ended since the legions of France had been arrested by the genius of Wellington, in their ambitious project of universal conquest ; and the wasting whirlwind of war that swept over the earth, was subdued and tranquillized by the same bold yet cautious soldier. If nations, as individuals, could be rendered wiser by experience, it is probable that peace and commerce would have constituted the chief object of every country in Europe ; but not more wary by past treachery and suffering, by the cruelty and injustice inflicted on them by wanton enemies, almost every state in Europe was either directly, or indirectly, committed in hostile operations, immediate or prospective—from which the calm, wise, policy of the Duke of Wellington saved his country. In Spain, the marriage of Ferdinand with a princess of Naples excited the disgust of his subjects, and the lasting enmity of his brother Carlos, who, up to that period, was looked on as heir-presumptive to the throne. The more remote consequence of that marriage was one of the most sanguinary civil wars ever waged in any country, between the adherents of the disappointed prince and the subjects of his royal niece. The usurpation of Don Miguel in Portugal has been already noticed in connection with the foreign policy of the Wellington cabinet ; Poland, Belgium, Greece, France, and other countries, were either in the actual process of revolution, or in a state of military organization for that purpose. In such a

crisis of revolutionary movements, when still further innovations were made by the people upon the privileges of princes, and in many cases with success, it was a task of no ordinary kind to prevent the extension of the contagion to the British islands. The liberal character of our laws, the freedom which accompanies our institutions, naturally contributed to render the people reasonable, satisfied, and happy; but the idle, discontented, and profligate took advantage of the growing love of mischief, and disseminated republican principles as widely as they possibly could. Never was a more steady policy displayed by a British minister than by the great man who stood at the helm, and with watchful vigilance, and firm hand, kept the vessel in the course that led to a safe asylum.

A bill, now introduced by his grace, for the regulation, or rather formation of a system of police, upon an entirely new arrangement, would appear to have been suggested by the peculiar dangers of the period: but such was not the case; his grace had long contemplated the extinction of the aged guardians of the night, to whom the security and peace of London was entrusted; and, the inimitable system of police, which he now proposed for the metropolis, had been many years previously introduced by him into the city of Dublin. It was the entire success of the plan, in that city, that led to its adoption in London, and not any urgent necessity that existed at the moment when that adoption took place. The bill met no opposition, being looked upon as a valuable boon to the citizens of London, whose gratitude was very warmly manifested on the occasion. The Duke of Wellington had now reached the climax of his greatness as a minister of the crown, and had rather passed the culminating point in his popularity as a statesman. Catholic emancipation had been carried by an extraordinary effort, and against the inclination of the majority of the people of England; and the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Alexander, the editor of the *Morning Journal*, for a libel upon his grace, did not contribute to restore his waning favour with the people. Prosecutions for libel have always been unpopular in England, and they

have almost always given greater publicity to the offensive terms than if their author had been suffered to escape with impunity: in this instance, the conviction was attributed much more to the subtlety of the attorney-general, Sir James Scarlett (Lord Abinger), than to any unusual culpability on the part of the accused. The conduct of the prosecution displayed remarkable ingenuity, but the advice upon which it was instituted exhibited little experience, or little respect for public opinion. This incident aggravated the feeling that was fostered against the Wellington cabinet by the anti-Catholic party, who now, evidently, considered that they had been betrayed. They separated themselves entirely from the ministerial benches, and appeared ready to give in their adhesion to that party, or person, by whose instrumentality ministers might be disgraced. The only balance to this serious defection of former friends and political adherents was the very equivocal support of the old Whigs, themselves thirsting for place, and of a few members of a third section, whom a show of gratitude to the duke, for their admission to parliament, obliged to support him during their moments of triumph. Such support could not hold out prospective strength, and was only accepted by the duke as a formal, interested, legislative aid. No proposal of coalition was made to the Whigs, his grace still looking towards his old associates, and keeping the door of reconciliation open to them; but they manifested no disposition to forgiveness, and with averted looks voted against the measures of the ministry. There was a party in the house, less powerful by numbers, but distinguished by talents, that once acknowledged the leadership of Mr. Canning; upon that statesman's death they ranged themselves under the banner of Mr. Huskisson, and expressed a willingness to admit his supremacy; for their co-operation the duke could hardly hope, having, upon two public occasions, seriously differed from Mr. Huskisson; and on one, expelled him from the cabinet in so peremptory a manner, that he could never be expected to return, unless the duke should actually make a submission, such as he had

never been known to do on any former occasion. In this difficulty the duke adopted the expedient of conciliating the old Whigs, and disregarded the Tories who had abandoned him. The first of the party who appeared to give in his adhesion to ministers was the Marquis of Cleveland, a large borough proprietor, under whose patronage Mr. Brougham (Lord Brougham) had long sat in parliament: his lordship's son, Lord Darlington, (Duke of Cleveland) undertook to move the address; while the Duke of Devonshire, gratified by a trifling appointment conferred upon Mr. Abercrombie, his grace's land-agent, also lent his support to the premier. This return, for the great sacrifices made by the duke and Mr. Peel, was but a contemptible compensation, wholly inadequate to the ministerial exigency, and equally unworthy of the powerful party whence it emanated. It was but an instalment on account of a large debt of gratitude, the balance of which the Roman Catholic advocates then evaded the discharge of, and ultimately denied the whole demand.

On the fourth of February, parliament was opened by commission; the king's health now preventing him from the performance of a duty, which he had previously avoided from a disinclination to meet his subjects in public. The speech mentioned the termination of the war between Russia and Turkey, the continued civil wars in Greece and Portugal, and concluded by a brief allusion to the distress which then existed in the agricultural and manufacturing districts. The language of the speech, however, gave offence to the country generally, by asserting that the distress was *partial*, attributable to an unproductive season, and to other circumstances beyond legislative control. The house was addressed by Earl Stanhope, in a speech combining considerable eloquence with a perfect knowledge of the internal condition of the country, and, introducing an amendment in the following terms: "That this house, views with the deepest sorrow and anxiety, the severe distress which now afflicts the country, and will immediately proceed to examine its causes, and the means of administering speedy and effectual relief." The most vehement amongst

the opponents of the address was the Earl of Caernarvon, who declared that the language was unworthy of the sovereign, and merely the expressions of those who formed his councils that it was a most insulting, unfeeling, and cold-blooded allusion to the distresses of the country. His lordship proceeded to censure the foreign and home policy of ministers in the most unmeasured terms; and attributed the whole responsibility to the Duke of Wellington, who, he said, did not decline to take it upon himself. The severity of the sarcasm, conveyed by Lord Caernarvon's language, drew from the illustrious premier a full and luminous explanation of his views: he dwelt at length upon the Portuguese question, showing that in every instance the most scrupulous regard was paid to neutrality, the decided policy of England, while he abstained from alluding to the recognition of Don Miguel—an unworthy conception, which Lord Aberdeen had the bad taste to admit might yet be expedient. His grace distinctly explained the cautious language of the speech relative to the distress that pervaded the rural districts, and satisfied a majority of the house, that cautious language, in such a case, was more humane and wise, than that which was more general and promising. Before he sat down, he claimed a merit for ministers, which the most envious could not deny; namely, that of having relieved the country from twenty-seven millions a year taxes, besides three or four millions interest of the debt, representing a capital of a hundred millions of debt. After a protracted and an angry discussion, between those who had been the warmest political friends, but converted into rancorous opponents by the act of emancipation, the amendment was rejected by a majority of sixty-two.

Parliamentary duties engrossed the premier's attention at the opening of the session, and left him but little leisure for any other object. The India-House charter, the regulations of the coal trade as regarded the port and city of London, and the settlement of Greece, were agitated, and discussed nightly, in both houses of parliament; and, it was part of his grace's habitual policy to place himself in the front of battle;

to lead the forlorn hope ; to arrest the arm before the blow was stricken ; to provide secure shelter before the storm raged. The other questions were more easily disposed of, by referring their consideration to a committee ; a mode, in some instances, of obtaining for public grievances a grave investigation, but oft-times a mere trick of the minister, to postpone or evade inquiry. The settlement of Greece, however, could not be passed by, for the most specious patriots in the house were most pertinacious in demanding explanations from ministers, on this very interesting subject. Lord Holland, as distinguished for pedantry as patriotism, assailed the ministers in a speech composed of extracts from public journals, and quotations from British poets, impugning the rash policy of the duke and his colleagues. His grace replied in an able and convincing speech ; one which demonstrated the virulence of Lord Holland's charges, and the incorrectness of Lord Melbourne's. He declared, that, with the exception of the resolution which these noble lords moved that night, the resolution of 1827 was the most ridiculous he had ever heard. Lord Melbourne attributed the publication of the Turkish manifesto, of which the opposition complained, to the circumstance of his grace coming into power, although it had been proclaimed before he had come into power ; and, as to Lord Holland, his statements were more reckless than those of Lord Melbourne, being made with an absolute contempt of dates and facts. The battle of Navarino and its consequences did not belong to his administration ; it was not possible to give Candia to Greece without first conquering it from the Turks ; and, as the motion of Lord Holland was not founded on grounds that were entitled to the character of plausibility, much less fact, his grace declared his determination to move the previous question. After a sharp recrimination between Lords Aberdeen and Holland, in which the latter took occasion to speak in laudatory language of himself, the motion, which went to declare want of confidence in ministers, was put and negatived. The same confusion of ideas continuing to mislead Lord Holland as to the Candiot, his grace upon a subse-

quent occasion explained to the house, that although decisive measures had been taken to prevent the transportation of slaves from the Morea, the same were not applicable to Candia, that island being an undisputed portion of the Ottoman empire. But Lord Holland's objections were easily answered; for they did not apply to the real question of slavery in Greece, but in general they had a factious direction, and rested on a quibble, which was, that there were several Candiotes amongst the slaves, whom Admiral Sir Edward Codrington had released from the power of Ibrahim Pacha, and set at liberty. The same individuals pressed for the production of papers connected with the usurpation of Don Miguel, and our neutrality in that act of perfidy; but the Duke of Wellington proved most distinctly, that those with whom Lord Holland acted, and whom Lord Melbourne openly professed to imitate, possessed sentiments similar to his own on all such questions; and that Mr. Canning, in particular, urged the European powers to remain tranquil, and to aid the establishment of the constitution in Portugal, by the countenance extended by their several ambassadors at Lisbon, on the assurance that England would not at all interfere in its maintenance. His grace's explanation was held to be sufficient by a large majority of their lordships; and the impression which it left upon the house was not favourable to the political sagacity of the individuals who taunted him. In these explanations it was obvious that his grace perfectly understood the character of Lord Holland; and, although desirous to conciliate the Whigs, that he made not the slightest overture, in language, manner, or sentiment, to that nobleman, while he adopted a totally different course towards his less able but not less persevering coadjutor in opposition.

Considerable reforms in the judicature of England and Wales were made under the Wellington administration: none of so much value as the abolition of a separate judicial establishment for Wales, and the incorporation of the principality with the districts to be visited by the judges of assize. The criminal code underwent a complete revision under the surveillance of Mr. Peel; ninety-three separate acts being

reduced to thirteen, and capital punishment abolished in all instances, murder, and particular cases of forgery, excepted. These, and many equally valuable reforms, both in law and politics, were progressing, when a sudden interruption to the settled working of the machine of government, occurred by the demise of king George IV. It was in the month of April, of the year 1830, that he rode out for the last time in Windsor park, and visited his menagerie; a species of enjoyment which he substituted for the society of friends. Here he was seized with pain and faintness, under which he was sustained by the attention of the keeper, who had been an old servant of his brother, the Duke of York. After this period he was never seen in public; and that retirement which had before been voluntary, became henceforth a necessity imposed by the decrees of Providence. His majesty's infirmity had increased so rapidly, and to so great an excess, that the royal signature had been, for some previous length of time, affixed by a stamp, the king signifying his assent *vivâ voce*; but a complication of diseases, all connected with a common origin, such as hydrothorax, dropsy generally, gout, a pulmonary complaint, added to an affection of the heart, soon placed the royal patient beyond the aid of medical science; and, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1830, he expired at Windsor castle, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Having withdrawn from intercourse with his subjects, the monarch passed his later years in perfect seclusion; living for himself alone. Lord Castlereagh, a man of firm nerve and decisive manner, had ruled him rigidly, while he preserved his affection; the Duke of Wellington was even more successful in advising his royal master; but it is impossible not to perceive the obvious jealousy, which the monarch entertained towards his illustrious subject, from his complete avoidance of appearing in public along with him. He had always exhibited a narrowness of mind in this respect, and was unable to release himself from the fetters of envy. The great military renown of Wellington, in any public pageant, would have attracted all eyes towards the hero, rather than towards his sovereign; a neglect and comparison, which, from the very

erroneous manner of his education, would have been too painful for him to endure. Such was his respect, and so great his confidence, in his illustrious minister, that he delivered up to his keeping the keys of his kingdom, and of his conscience, without apprehension or distrust.

The accession of William IV. to the throne of England, was hailed by all parties as an omen of increased happiness and prosperity. He had been reared in a different school from that of his elder brother—understood and loved the profession in which he had passed his early years—and, it was no insignificant recommendation to the people of England, that he had been the attached and faithful friend of Nelson, through good repute and bad repute. Kind, uniformly, to all who approached him, this amiable old man received the ministers with cordiality, and confirmed them in their respective offices. Yet still the seeds of discontent had been sown amongst the tory aristocracy, by the passing of the Catholic relief-bill, and the whigs were preparing to reap all the advantages that must result from the fact. Pressing forward officiously, in the upper house Lord Grey, in the lower Mr. Brougham, seconded the addresses in reply to the king's message, and accompanied their devotedness with becoming eulogies on the late, and eulogies on the reigning monarch. The premier proceeded with the beer bill, while the attention of parliament had also been called to making provision for the service of the state, during the period between the dissolution of the existing parliament, and assemblage of a new one. But such efforts to divert the opposition from the object of their ambition, were late and were vain. The accession of a single-minded, unaffected, popular prince to the throne, raised hopes in the hearts of the nation, which few could define, but of a character infinitely more gratifying to the community than had been experienced during the closing years of the late king's reign; and the Whigs, partaking of this general feeling, wished, hoped, calculated upon the waning strength of the ministers, the growing clamour for reform in all the institutions of the country, and the accessible, open, and amiable bearing of the sailor-king.

Against too hasty a dissolution of parliament, the Whigs contended, and urged upon the country and the ministers, the necessity and propriety of appointing a regency to conduct the affairs of state, in case of a sudden demise of the crown, before any appeal should be made to the nation.

Mr. R. Grant, one of the eloquent advocates of this precautionary measure, stated the opinion of his party, which was, that the discussion of the subject could never be entertained with more propriety than at that moment; that it ought to be brought forward with promptitude, and proceeded with at once. He was fully aware of the delicacy of the question, and of the necessity that must arise of intruding upon the domestic privacy of an illustrious house. But a constitutional monarch, from his situation, was placed like a house on a hill, and precluded from that secrecy and seclusion which belonged to the domestic hearth of the subject. He had looked into the history of his country, and there found numerous precedents applicable to the existing case, in the reigns of Henry II. Edward III. Richard II., &c.; but looking to the changes in the opinions and habits of men, to the unsettled character of the constitution in remote periods, he would not notice any example earlier than the middle of the last century; since that period, two instances had occurred, the first in 1751. George II. being then at an advanced age, upon the death of his son, the Prince of Wales, recollecting that his grand-children were all in a state of minority, thought it necessary to send a message to both houses of parliament, requesting them to make provision for a regency, adapted to the peculiar emergency which might happen to the country. This was followed soon after by a second message, advising the appointment of a council of regency. In less than four weeks after the reception of the royal message, the regency bill had passed both houses, and received the royal assent. The more important precedent, however, was that which occurred in 1765: George III., then in the fourth year of his reign, and only five and twenty years of age, alarmed by an illness, which, though severe, was declared not to have

been dangerous, thought it necessary, not by a message, but by appearing in presence of both houses of parliament, to call them to the consideration of the casualties belonging to his exalted situation, and requesting them to provide for the event of the succession falling upon an infant prince. The words in which the fearless monarch addressed his parliament deserved to be recorded, as an example highly worthy of imitation by future sovereigns, under similar circumstances. "The tender concern which I feel," said his majesty, "for my faithful subjects, makes me anxious to provide for every possible event which may affect their future happiness and security. My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdom and my family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life while my successor is of tender years. The high importance of this subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquillity, the paternal affection which I bear to my children, and to all my people; and my earnest desire that every precaution should be taken, which may tend to preserve the constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of its crown unimpaired, have determined me to lay this weighty business before parliament." Such language, he considered, bespoke the kingly firmness with which that consistent monarch, for the benefit of his country, could contemplate the termination of his life and of his reign; the kingly spirit with which he regarded the situation of his family and of the monarchy at large, in case of that event; and the kingly heart and conscience with which he brought them distinctly before parliament, in order that full satisfaction might be awarded to the rights of the crown, and the interests of the nation. Mr. Grant felt certain, that the kingly feelings of George the Third were not alien from the bosom of any prince of that house. He was certain, that no son of that venerated monarch would be wanting in courage to face the consideration of the lamentable event to which he was compelled to allude; or in that moral firmness which would enable him to contemplate calmly, the consequent

proceedings of parliament. He thought that the proposition should have emanated, by the advice of ministers, from the king himself; the period of his royal brother's obsequies would have been an appropriate one for an imitation of his royal father's example. Royalty appeared in a most amiable point of view, when thus kings met their subjects on the low but sacred ground of their common mortality, from which no situation, high or low, could exempt man. The case of William IV., was more remarkable, and required such a prospective measure as he spoke of, even much more than that of his father. Suppose a demise of the crown should occur after the dissolution of the parliament then sitting, before the writs of the new parliament should be returned; then the deceased monarch would leave either an infant of tender years, it might even be a posthumous child, or the succession would fall upon the Princess Victoria. If the case should be that of a posthumous offspring, when the privy-council should assemble, as they were sworn to do, to proclaim a sovereign,—whom were they to proclaim?—whose servants would ministers be?—whence was the commission for the assemblage of parliament to originate?—such an eclipse of royalty would shroud the whole country in gloom. Let them now suppose that the crown should devolve upon the Princess Victoria,—though not an infant, she was still of tender years; and the question of who should be regent, would in that case be one of still greater difficulty.—What doctrine should be adopted? That held by Mr. Fox and Lord Loughborough, in the unfortunate emergency of 1788, that the next heir in blood has as strict, as paramount, and as indefeasible a right to the regency, as he would, in case of the then sovereign's dying, have to the throne? or were they to adopt the doctrine held by Mr. Pitt and Lord Eldon, that however august the name of the heir-apparent might be, he had no more right to the regency than any other subject in the kingdom. In whatever way the question between the heir-apparent and the heir-presumptive might be decided, how would the decision be applied when the heir-presumptive, having become, by the

death of the reigning sovereign, king of another country, stood before them in the capacity of an alien king? The difficulties were then great; but if the question were postponed, they would only become aggravated in another parliament. He warned the ministers against calculating that the king's steadfast appearance would always continue: in the midst of his administration of the affairs of this country Lord Liverpool was unexpectedly carried off, and left parliament deliberating on a most important question—a grant to a part of the royal family subsequently on the throne. Could the country fail to recollect Mr. Canning—his eloquent efforts received with such acceptance in that house—pursued with such vigour, and attended with such success? He recollected hearing a member observe, “I could say to Mr. Canning, as the Spartan said to the father, whose sons had been victorious in the Olympic games, ‘Now die, for thou canst not be a god!’” and within one month Mr. Canning was taken ill, and in one fortnight more he had followed that eloquent orator and illustrious statesman to the grave. Mr. Grant called up numerous instances of sudden death in the royal families of England, and of other kingdoms, in support of the pressing necessity of the regency question at that moment, and exhibited, in addition to those extraordinary powers of oratory, which he, as well as his brother, possessed in a very eminent degree, a most accurate acquaintance with the history of his country, as well as with its laws and polity.—The motion was opposed by all the strength of ministers in the lower house; Sir Robert Peel declaring that it would be a most inauspicious commencement of a new reign, to oblige the king to do what he had declared his intention of not doing. He thought that many contingencies might arise, which it would be difficult to provide for; and, after exerting the utmost ingenuity in devising remedies, they might produce infinitely more danger than if the contingencies took place without them. Ninety-three members, however, supported the motion, which, of course, was lost by a large majority.

Soon after this faint struggle of the opposition, parliament

was prorogued by the king in person; but the royal speech, which he delivered on the occasion, contained little more than the usual chain of common-places. Ministers, however, had so far remembered themselves, as to make his majesty congratulate the parliament upon the reduction of taxation, the result of economy in the public expenditure—the revision of the criminal code—and the passing of the Roman Catholic relief-bill. On the following day, July the twenty-fourth, parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The unaffected manner of king William had already endeared him to his subjects, and, as he returned from the first parliament over which he had ever presided, he was hailed with the most deafening acclamations along the whole line which the procession took.

Upon the conclusion of the session, the king addressed himself to every object of utility, every occasion of gratifying his people, by mixing unaffectedly amongst them, and visiting the different public institutions, which his inactive brother seemed to have totally forgotten. On the sixth of August, accompanied by queen Adelaide, he went in state to the Tower of London, where their majesties partook of a splendid *dejeune* with the Duke of Wellington, at the governor's house. Amongst the public functionaries invited on the occasion, was the lord mayor. The king perceiving the worthy alderman, walked over, took him cordially by the hand, and said, "Ah, Crowder, I am most happy to see you, and in the situation of chief magistrate of my faithful citizens. I am glad to see your years sit so light upon you." "I thank your majesty, I am as well as a man full of years, and more full of honours by your majesty's gracious notice, than any of my living predecessors can expect to be," said his lordship. "Well, Crowder," added the king, "you are at the head of a set of excellent fellows—good fellows—capital fellows. I'll tell you what, Crowder, I have a few friends to dine with me to-morrow—you must come." His lordship expressed his gratitude for this additional act of kindness, and retired. It was during this period, and soon after his grace's appointment to the office of constable of the Tower, that the following circumstance occurred, so honourable to the

character of the premier, and so instructive to those who may succeed to this particular duty. Townshend, the Bow-street officer, who understood how such things had been managed, ventured to inform the great duke that a vacancy had occurred, by death, amongst the officers of the Tower, by which his grace was entitled to two hundred and fifty guineas. "What," said the duke, "have my predecessors done such things?" If Townshend distrusted the sincerity of the duke's remark, the appointment of an old serjeant of the guards to the vacancy, soon corrected his judgment, and the observance of the same noble and disinterested conduct, in every other appointment during the duke's constablenesship, tended to illustrate the integrity of his character.

Upon every opportunity of promoting scientific improvements, which presented itself during the duke's administration, and when he withdrew from office, he did not hesitate to bestow his attention, sanction, and support. Although no member of either house of parliament perceived, at so early a period, the mischievous consequences of rail-road bills, as at first proposed and passed, his grace was amongst the first public men who extended a sincere, disinterested patronage to this proposed mode of transport and conveyance. The first public railway opened for the conveyance of passengers by locomotive engines, was that between Manchester and Liverpool, and the excitement which attended the occasion was so great, that the directors invited the prime minister of the kingdom and Sir Robert Peel, to grace the procession by their presence, and impart confidence to the undertaking, by being counted amongst the earliest passengers. Proceeding to Manchester, his grace was there received with the warmest enthusiasm. A splendid dinner was prepared in the theatre, which had been converted into a banqueting-hall for the occasion, and connected by a covered passage with the assembly rooms, at which the illustrious duke was present, accompanied by a number of distinguished individuals—not merely, however, belonging to that part of the kingdom, but celebrated for public services in various parts of the world. During the

festivity, no political toasts were proposed; no subject connected with the conduct of government alluded to; and, having prolonged the joyousness to a late hour, all separated like satisfied guests.

On the day appointed for opening the railroad, upwards of one thousand noblemen and gentlemen, including the duke and his friends, started from Manchester in about thirty carriages, drawn by eight engines, decorated with silken streamers, and adorned with various appropriate and gaudy emblems. Nothing could exceed the cheers and acclamations with which the carriage which conveyed the duke was received, by a dense mass of people that lined the road on both sides, and the excitement which prevailed was unlimited. The procession which was to constitute the opening, set out from Liverpool, issuing from the smaller tunnel; the first engine, the Northumbrian, took the south line, the other proceeding by the northern. Three carriages followed the Northumbrian; the first carrying the band, the second the Duke of Wellington, Prince Esterhazy, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Huskisson, and other distinguished individuals, and the third, the directors of the railway. The carriage in which his grace was seated was the largest, perhaps, and most splendid, ever built for a festive occasion. It was thirty-two feet in length, having a width of eight feet, and was supported on eight wheels. The sides were panelled, and painted with appropriate and very beautiful devices. A grand canopy, twenty-four feet long, was raised above it upon gilded pillars, and so contrived as to be lowered in passing through the tunnel. The drapery was of rich crimson cloth, and the whole was surmounted by a gilt ducal coronet. The train proceeded happily as far as Parkside, near Newton, where a delay of a few minutes was requisite, to take in a supply of water; and Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Holmes, and some others, wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity, descended from their carriage to the road, although the most earnest request, and the most anxious precautions had been made at Liverpool, and distributed in the form of printed handbills, against any person quitting the

carriages even for a second. The water being supplied, the other gentlemen who had neglected the regulations of the procession returned to the duke's carriage; but Mr. Huskisson, having lingered a moment behind his friends,* gave the Rocket engine, which was on the adjoining line, time to come up. The Duke of Wellington, who perceived his danger, called out, "Huskisson! do get to your place. For God's sake get to your place!" while these few words were escaping the great man's lips, the unhappy gentleman sprang up the steps of the ladder, and seized the latch of the door; but the door swung back—the Rocket engine arrived—he lost his hold, and fell from the steps—and the engine and two of the carriages passed over his right leg. A compound fracture was the consequence. The Earl of Wilton raised him from the ground, and immediately applied a tourniquet; but the injuries he received were of such a frightful nature that the only words the sufferer uttered were, "I have met my death; God forgive me!" He was removed to the house of the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, at Eccles, where he expired between nine and ten o'clock the same evening.

This was an inauspicious commencement of the undertaking; and, distressing as it would have been to any man possessing a common share of humanity, it proved tenfold more painful to the Duke of Wellington's feelings, from the political differences that had existed between himself and the member for Liverpool, which many persons supposed would, most probably, have been reconciled upon that remarkable occasion, and when his grace, in the midst of Mr. Huskisson's constituents, received such unequivocal marks of admiration and honour. The duke, sensible of his delicate position, at first declined to proceed further, and recommended the total

* It is a circumstance not a little remarkable, that a moment or two before the accident happened, Mr. Huskisson was congratulating Mr. Joseph Sanders on the success of the undertaking, of which he was a director. "This must be a happy day to you, Sanders;" said he, "for you have lived to see the successful end of what you so warmly engaged in at the beginning." He then turned away, observing, "I will go and shake hands with the Duke;" and he was on this very errand when he met his deplorable fate.

cessation of the ceremonies; but the directors insisted that they had a public duty to perform, in carrying the day's proceedings to the promised conclusion; and that the success of the project, on which such a serious amount of capital had been expended, might depend on the accomplishment of that day's proceedings. These remonstrances were unavailing; his grace was deaf to any arguments that rested upon private grounds, to make such a sacrifice of feeling as would be required: but, when the boroughreeves of Manchester and Salford arrived, and, officially, assured his grace, that the public peace could not be preserved unless the procession should advance to its destination, he reluctantly yielded, and orders were given to move on to Manchester. A cold collation had been prepared at the terminus for the distinguished visitors; but his grace having refused to attend it, the intended period of its continuance was shortened, and the train returned to Liverpool. When the Northumbrian arrived at the point nearest to Childwall, the Duke of Wellington alighted, and, getting into a private carriage, proceeded to the seat of the Marquis of Salisbury; the rest of the company going on to Liverpool, where a splendid dinner had been prepared, at which his grace could not be persuaded to be present.*

The reception of the great duke at Manchester and Liverpool must have been peculiarly gratifying to him; for, with the most high-minded feelings, the people, then much depressed by the decay of trade, and uneasy from other causes, buried all other considerations in that better one of gratitude to the premier, for his condescension in personally appearing amongst them on an occasion calculated to promote

* During the few days of seclusion which his grace passed at Childwall, after the melancholy death of Mr. Huskisson, he was not wholly inattentive to the objects of his visit. At an early hour each morning he rode to the railroad, examined the tunnel, and visited the Liverpool docks. As he entered the enclosure of the Prince's Dock, *before seven o'clock*, he was observed, and loudly cheered; particularly when it was perceived, from the appearance of his own and his attendant's horse, that they must at that hour have gone over several miles of ground.

the local interests of that populous vicinity. Some violence was manifested by masses of disorderly persons along the line of the procession; but it arose from the irritated feelings of those who were the most immediate, and most severe sufferers from the construction of the railroad; having been anticipated, it was provided against by the proper authorities.

The diseases of disaffection and revolutionary principles, which afflicted all Europe for some time previously, now spread into the British isles. In Ireland, the "Anti-union Association," openly called for a distinct parliament, and a still further independence of England. "May others imitate the Belgians" became a popular toast amongst the Roman Catholic party; and at a public dinner in Killarney, Mr. O'Connell observed, "I say fearlessly, and would impress it upon honest men, (for I care little for interested knaves) that this country will never enjoy perfect liberty, or quiet, until the church is severed from the state!" The grievances of the Irish were rather imaginary than real—political than personal, and might never have been expressed if Mr. O'Connell, who knew of the predisposition, had not employed means to make the disease show itself more openly. But, in England, causes of sorrow, suffering, and discontent were more than fanciful. In Buckinghamshire the agricultural distress was excessive, numerous farms were thrown up by the tenants, and none could be found with capital to enter upon them. In Kent, Hampshire, and eight other counties, tumultuous proceedings took place, agricultural mobs perambulating the country, destroying threshing machines, and setting fire to barns and corn-stacks; while the total failure of the whale fisheries produced the utmost wretchedness amongst the maritime population of Hull, and other towns on the eastern coast. A calamitous inundation of the river Irwell, at Manchester, occasioned a loss to the poorer class in that vicinity, exceeding one hundred thousand pounds. The objects of the discontented, in every district, were much involved in mystery, and, even after the calm reflection of subsequent years, appear to have had their first origin in the infectious example of France; however, the

reduction of tythes, and destruction of agricultural machinery and property, constituted the chief, in fact, the only violences of which they were guilty. Threatening letters, signed "Swing" generally preceded the conflagration of a corn-stack ; and, in some instances, a rope was presented to a sturdy farmer, as the only alternative remaining, if he refused to consent to the wages prescribed by the rioters.

The Duke of Wellington did not tamely submit to this democratic frenzy, whatever it originated in—he pitied the general distresses of the people, and sought, without an ostentatious display of his exertions, to alleviate them ; he would not, however, consent to deal with rebels while they were clad in armour, and prepared to dictate ; but, with his habitual promptitude, every necessary measure of activity, and suppression of anarchy was adopted, during the parliamentary recess. Dragoons patrolled the disturbed districts at night, and watches were set by day. A royal proclamation offered fifty pounds reward for the conviction of every author or perpetrator of an outrage, and five hundred for that of an incendiary ; besides which, special commissions were appointed, for the purpose of executing summary justice upon the most criminal of the rioters, as an example to the agitated districts. The lord lieutenant of Ireland also received instructions to suppress the "Anti-union Society" without delay. In the midst of this anarchy, so alien to the English character, the citizens of London were startled by the aspect of preparations for a siege ; this alarm arose from seeing a number of men most actively engaged in widening the ditch of the Tower. Since the reign of Charles II. the ceremony of clearing the moat had not been performed, and the eagerness of the workmen in searching for coins, or other relics of olden times, gave a still more extraordinary air to the operations. But this precaution had been taken by order of the Duke of Wellington, solely from an apprehension that, an additional influx of water would attend the removal of old London bridge, and not from any extravagant fear for the security

of the Tower, or from any want of confidence in the loyalty of the people.

The position of the Wellington ministry was about to undergo a material alteration upon the assemblage of the new parliament. The Whigs who had supported the liberal, or rather reform, measure of the duke, had grown weary of waiting for admission to power, and fell completely off; and the disgust of the anti-catholic tories rose higher, as the ingratitude of the Irish Roman Catholics to his grace became more conspicuous. The alarming state of England, the growth of revolutionary principles abroad, the ingratitude of Ireland, and the clamour against the legislative union, all contributed to swell the tide of opposition now rising and rolling in upon the Wellington administration. Against these difficulties the duke might have contended successfully, notwithstanding the desertion of one party, and the enmity of another; but there was a voice then stilly raised, which acquired strength and popularity, with such extraordinary rapidity, that he was never able to silence it.—this was the loud and far-spread demand for parliamentary reform. The duke had acceded to the abolition of the test act—had effected unqualified emancipation of the Roman Catholics; and, whether he felt disgust at the ingratitude of those whom he so nobly freed, or whether he conscientiously believed that farther innovations on the old constitution would be completely destructive of its original features, he resolved upon resisting that sweeping reform, which his late most unnatural associates, the Whigs, had as firmly determined upon proposing to parliament. The reform question was extensively employed by candidates at elections, and the desire for such a change was manifest all over the country. Nothing, therefore, could contribute more decisively to the unpopularity of the premier, than his known determination on that measure. The tories had been long in power—had existed long enough to have their best services forgotten, and outlived the liking of the people; any assaults upon their inability to govern, or want of political integrity were, therefore, acceptable to the nation. The general distress that prevailed

throughout the kingdom, was attributed to their lavish expenditure—to their reckless conduct in making places and granting pensions, and to systematic corruption on the part of government. These vague charges applied with infinitely more force to the governments of Lord Liverpool, Castlereagh, and Perceval, than to that of the duke, whose patronage had been conferred with a discrimination never exceeded by any preceding minister; and whose habits, both in public and private, had been based upon the strictest principles of economy. The spirit of the elections declared the rising hostility to a tory government. In the days of Fox, it was held to be a political maxim, that Yorkshire and Middlesex guided all England, and now the return of Mr. Brougham for the one, and of Mr. Hume for the other, justified the saying. One artifice, basely adopted at the elections, was that of ascribing to the duke the crime of having abetted the Polignac ministry in their arbitrary measures, an assertion totally contrary to fact, and invented solely for electioneering purposes, but on such occasions, "*facile credimus quod volumus*," is a leading principle of action.

This profligate conduct produced consequences which the actors had not anticipated, which they would be amongst the first to deprecate, and from the relation of which all but the chronicler of history recoils. Parliament was summoned on the second of November, on which day the king proceeded in person to open it and deliver the usual speech. About half an hour before the state-coach entered St. James' Park, his grace the Duke of Wellington rode in, attended by a single groom. His appearance was proclaimed by shouts of "Here he comes! here he comes! See! here comes Wellington! Now is the time, my boys!" from a dense and fierce-looking mob of the lowest classes, who assailed him with groans, hisses, cries of "No police! no police!" accompanied by a shower of gravel. An old naval officer who witnessed this disgraceful scene, pressed through the crowd, and fearlessly taking his place beside the duke, took off his hat, and loudly sang out, "The brave Wellington for ever! Who dare insult

the hero of Waterloo?" These inspiriting words, uttered with the hearty, honest cheer of a British tar, brought a few kindred spirits to his aid; when, pressing forward still, he asked the duke why his groom did not dash into the crowd, and secure one of the rascals, to make an example of. To this his grace replied, "What can I do, Sir?" and at that instant he was struck with a stone on the cheek. By this time he reached the treasury, which he entered amidst a volley of missiles. "The old sailor" who stood by the hero during this cowardly attack, with an indignation in which all honest Englishmen must sympathize, seized a fellow by the arm as he was in the act of throwing a large stone, and, before the mob could compel him to relinquish his hold, bestowed upon him a well-deserved chastisement. While insult was offered to his person, injury was planned against his property; upon the duke's quitting Strathfieldsaye, to attend the opening of parliament, an attempt was made to set fire to the church that stands close by the mansion. Some person having obtained admission during the night, lighted a fire in the stove of his grace's pew; but the flame being observed from the house, mischief was prevented. As the door and windows were all fastened down, and the keys had not been out of the pew-opener's possession that day, the object of the persons who kindled the fire was apparent. The park gates were closed against visitors after this occurrence, and greater vigilance employed in guarding every part of his grace's property in the vicinity of Strathfieldsaye.*

Such was the state of public feeling,—such the decaying

* So rapid was the transition from public favour to its hatred, that only two months before, the affability of the great duke formed a constant subject of admiration, and numerous anecdotes, as playful as the following, appeared in the journals of the day:—"A citizen of Glasgow, on a visit to London, having a strong desire to see the interior of the house of lords, applied to a plainly dressed person, but who he understood was a peer, for an order, apologizing for the liberty he had taken—that he was a stranger; and, at the same time, presenting his card to the nobleman, who politely remarked, as he wrote the required order on the back, 'From Scotland, I think?' 'Yes, my lord.' 'Good morning, sir.' To the surprise of the North Briton, he read the order—'Admit the bearer—WELLINGTON.'"

popularity of the Duke of Wellington as a minister of the crown,—such the feverish excitement of parties, when the king met his new parliament, on the second of November, 1830. The speech alluded to the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the French throne, and the acknowledgment of his sovereignty by this country; to the separation of Belgium from Holland, with expressions of regret for the difficulties in which the King of the Netherlands was situated; to the affairs of Portugal, and the possibility that friendly relations might yet be established with the usurper, Don Miguel; and to the propriety of making a provision for the exercise of the royal authority, in the event of a demise of the crown, before the successor of William IV. had arrived at years of maturity. His majesty now resigned, into the hands of parliament, the hereditary revenues of the crown, the droits of the Admiralty, his interests in West-India duties and casual revenues, and expressed his reliance upon the dutiful attachment of the parliament, for all that might be necessary to support the honour and dignity of the crown. His majesty regretted the continuance of incendiarism in the agricultural districts; deprecated the seditious conduct of those who would recommend a separation of Ireland from England, and concluded in language wrapped in no little ambiguity, and which might be understood to express either a general eulogy on the British constitution, or a very decided disapproval of parliamentary reform. As the sovereign of these realms is no longer looked on as responsible for the sentiments he delivers in addressing his parliament, anything which King William said on this occasion had no influence upon the extensive popularity which he enjoyed; his majesty, therefore, retired amidst loud applause, and was conducted to his palace with the cheers and congratulations of his fond and faithful subjects.

The address was very violently opposed by the Earl of Winchelsea, and spoken, but not voted, against by Earl Grey, who objected to the manner in which domestic distresses were touched upon,—wholly disapproved of our inconsistency in deciding the nature of the war in Belgium, after having

declined to enter into the affairs of Portugal; expressed disgust at the bare suspicion of recognizing Don Miguel; and shared in the royal indignation as to the conduct of Mr. O'Connell, in agitating a repeal of the legislative union of England and Ireland. The Duke of Wellington,* having first passed a high eulogy on the talents of Earl Grey, and expressed the happiness he experienced in the frequent coincidence of their opinions on questions of state policy, proceeded to explain those parts of the royal speech to which the earl had objected. He informed the house, that although the amnesty, permitting the return of the best talent, and wealthiest subjects to Portugal, had not been fulfilled, yet its violation would not necessarily involve us in a war. His grace defended, in the most energetic manner, the part which he had taken as to the Belgian insurrection, stating, that the subjects of our close ally, the King of Holland, had never even complained of the pressure of any particular grievance; the war that raged there originated in a common riot; and, the success of the mob against the military, led them on to further acts of violence and outrage, which they had never contemplated when they commenced the breach of order. He believed the only definite ground of dissatisfaction, or which was at all tangible, was the existence in the administration of a person named Van Maanen, who, however, was actually out of office when the objections to him were raised. As to the union of the two countries, that question had been submitted to the

* The unpopularity, which was daily spreading against the duke and his colleagues, involved in its vortex even persons who had, unhappily, lost their accountability to the state. A person whose name was Sist, a native of Cork, was observed to frequent the entrance hall of the house of lords, and, upon being questioned by Gilbert, the marshalman, he deliberately drew a pistol from his breast, and presented it at him. Being taken into custody, a second pistol was found on his person, loaded to the muzzle, and a butcher's knife, of large size, which had been sharpened according to the prisoner's instructions. Upon being asked what could have induced him to meditate so desperate an act as the death of the Duke of Wellington, he said he had seen extraordinary visions, and was fully impressed with the idea, that by so doing he was obeying the Lord's desire of vengeance. It was obvious that he laboured under mental delusion upon some point connected with the political distinctions of the period.

states-general, and such relaxations of certain regulations granted, as were tantamount to the desires of the Belgians. His majesty was closely allied with the King of the Netherlands; the treaty of 1814, between the allied powers, had bound him still further in the bonds of unity, for he then became a guarantee for the integrity of the new kingdom of the Netherlands: the secession of Belgium, therefore, was a revolt from that treaty, as well as from the authority of their king, to whom they had previously submitted; and the cases of Belgium and Portugal were obviously dissimilar. Some noble lords alluded triumphantly to the conduct of the Irish Roman Catholics, in demanding a total repeal of the Union, immediately after the large concessions of the parliament, in matters relating to their religion; his grace denied that he had ever, in the slightest tittle, been influenced by the unworthy motive of fear; but that he gave way, if it could be termed giving way, solely because the interests of the country required it. He was fully convinced that the new disorders in Ireland would not have occurred, had the Catholic relief-bill passed both houses without opposition; or, at all events, with less violent opposition than it had experienced. It had not been mentioned by any noble lord, that the uneasiness of the Irish was by no means as extensive as it had been on former occasions, and was attributable rather to the troubled spirit of a public agitator, than to any real shame which the people felt at their legislative connexion with England. His grace recommended, as a remedy for the griefs of Ireland, the return of the absentees to that country. With regard to the outrages in England, they could not possibly be traced to the distress of the people; this was not a period of deep suffering amongst the manufacturing or agricultural population. Machine breakers were influenced by a natural antipathy to those mechanical inventions which added to the commercial prosperity of the empire, but necessarily impoverished, at their first introduction, a number of clever and industrious men. This was one of those cases, however, in which private injury resulted from the promotion of the public weal.

But there was another class of violaters, who burnt and destroyed property without any visible motive. The conduct of these individuals led him to the consideration of a question, pressed upon the house by Earl Grey, the propriety of effecting parliamentary reform. He was not prepared with any such measure, "nay, he on his own part, would go farther, and say, that he had never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment, which could in any degree satisfy his mind, that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large, than at the present moment. He would not, however, at such an unseasonable time, enter on the subject, or excite discussion, but he should not hesitate to declare, unequivocally, what were his sentiments upon it. He was fully convinced that the country possessed, at that moment, a legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and this, to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered in any country whatever. He would go farther, and say, that legislation and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possessed that confidence,—and the discussion in the legislature had a very decided influence over the opinions of the country. He would go still farther, and say, that if, at that moment, he had imposed upon him the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions; he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they then possessed, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. The representation of the people at that period contained a large body of the property of the country, and in which the landed interests had a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances, he was not prepared to bring forward any measure of reform. He was not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare, that as far as he was concerned, as long

as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

The anti-reform declaration of his grace probably contributed to accelerate the velocity with which this measure was advancing; at least, Mr. Brougham declared, in the house of commons, that he believed that would be its effect upon the country; and, undoubtedly, the unflinching advocates of a radical reform concluded, from the duke's manly statement, that as all hope of converting ministers was vain, it would be a culpable inactivity to delay their efforts. Mr. Peel had also stated his want of preparation as to any measure of parliamentary reform; so that the country was at once, and fairly, put in possession of the fact, that on this point, the Wellington ministry would be found inexorable. And, now, the high Tory party, who had been offended by the introduction of the Catholic relief-bill, resolved to be avenged of the authors of their chagrin, by suffering themselves to be defeated by the Whigs and Radicals united; by which the fall of ministers became inevitable. One of the first opportunities that presented itself for the manifestation of that rancorous enmity to ministers, which had been long festering beneath the surface, was the expected presence of the king at the lord mayor's feast, in the year 1830. The promoters of mischief, connected with the lowest and worst portion of the Radical party, caused anonymous letters to be sent to the lord mayor, to police officers, to members of the government, cautioning all parties concerned in the executive, against entering the city in state on that day. Placards were printed and posted all round London, setting forth the plans of a set of conspirators, whose prime objects were indefinite and mysterious, but in some way menacing the safety of the duke and his colleagues; besides which, the lord-mayor elect, afterwards Sir John Key, addressed a letter to Mr. Peel, recommending that his majesty should not venture to Guild-hall on the approaching festivity. On the eighth of November, the advice of ministers, which prevented the king from dining with the city of London, was made the subject of a grave

charge against them ; and, although the affairs of the Netherlands and Belgium constituted the nominal subject of discussion, the real object of the opposition was to throw odium, publicly, upon the duke and his colleagues, in consequence of their having prevented the king from appearing in the city: It was generally believed by the country, that William IV. was favourable to what he conceived to be a popular measure, and the reform party being desirous to mark the distinction between the king and his ministers in the most public manner, in all probability intended to insult the latter, while the reception of their monarch would have been enthusiastic. These schemes were frustrated by their own precipitation and violence, as well as by the extreme caution of the premier.

In this explanation of the reasons which influenced his judgment, the duke read Sir John Key's letter, stating that it was the intention of a set of desperate men to make an attack on his grace's person, against which the city police would not be able to offer sufficient resistance ; and, therefore, that it would be prudent to come strongly guarded. Having consulted with his colleagues, it was the unanimous opinion, that prevention was better than cure—that it was more judicious and humane to avoid risk, than to revenge insult—that a riot which commenced with ministers, might not end with them ; and that, although the king was undoubtedly popular, no one could foresee the result of the confusion that would necessarily attend a riot under such circumstances. Sir Robert Peel had received information of a design to extinguish the lights, to attack the police, to commit other acts of insubordination ; and hand-bills, commencing with " To arms ! To arms ! " " Liberty and arms ! " and designating the police " Peel's bloody gang," &c. ; all which, in the excited state of the country, appeared to him very sufficient grounds for the adoption of measures of security by himself and his colleagues. Impressed with the belief that violence was intended, his grace caused the moat of the Tower of London to be filled with water, the bastion and batteries to be put in a state of defence, and a body of artillery to be marched in, to man them. Besides these pre-

cautionary steps, troops were brought into the barracks at the west-end of the metropolis, a cordon of military drawn around London and Westminster, and the Bank-guard considerably augmented. The suspicions of government received a species of confirmation from the events that occurred upon the king's return from opening parliament, as well as on the occasions of his visiting the theatres. During these different opportunities, the hostility of the mob to the ministers, and to the new police, could not be unobserved.

The explanation which the duke felt called upon to give to the house of lords, did not, could not satisfy the reform party, who condemned, in unqualified terms, the cautious policy of his grace. Earl Grey, the champion of reform, and who had hitherto voted with ministers, declared that he heard of the determination to prevent the king from dining at Guildhall, with humiliation and regret. The publication of their intention was calculated to lower England in the esteem of foreign countries, and never should have been done without the plainest necessity. He conceived that the duke had observed a wise precaution in abstaining from any part in the ceremony, because he was unpopular; nor was his unpopularity unaccountable; but there never had been a monarch more firmly enthroned in the hearts of the people than William IV. The conduct of ministers was further reprehensible in exciting such alarming feelings, upon such insufficient testimony as the letter of Sir John Key: magistrates have frequently been known to magnify dangers, and anticipate disturbances without any good reason. A lord-mayor, who claimed a great reputation for his temerity, but whose failing, after all, was found to have been timidity, under the influence of which he made false representations relating to the riots in 1780, was prosecuted for his misconduct in a court of justice. The matter and manner of Earl Grey's address sufficiently indicated his rising hopes, and the object to which his ambition then aspired. The country had declared for reform; the king was known to have the gratification of the majority of his subjects at heart, so that now, two of the three estates were combined

against the premier and the other this opportunity his lordship improved to the advantage of his political fortunes, by deprecating the timidity and erroneous conclusions of ministers.

The enemy were closing round the Wellington administration, with a power that was irresistible: the popularity of the duke had been totally dissipated, and the uncertain tenure of that property was never more fully demonstrated in the history of any country. It was in vain that he pleaded the humanity of his conduct, in preventing a civil war; the public were determined to allow of no construction of his language but that which suited their objects. His grace's remarks to Sir William Knighton, however, present so full and satisfactory an explanation of his motives, that they form an essential passage in his personal history. "If firing had begun," said the duke, "who could tell where it would end? I know what street-firing is; one guilty person would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed. Would this have been wise or *humane*, for a little bravado, or that the country might not have been alarmed for a day or two?"

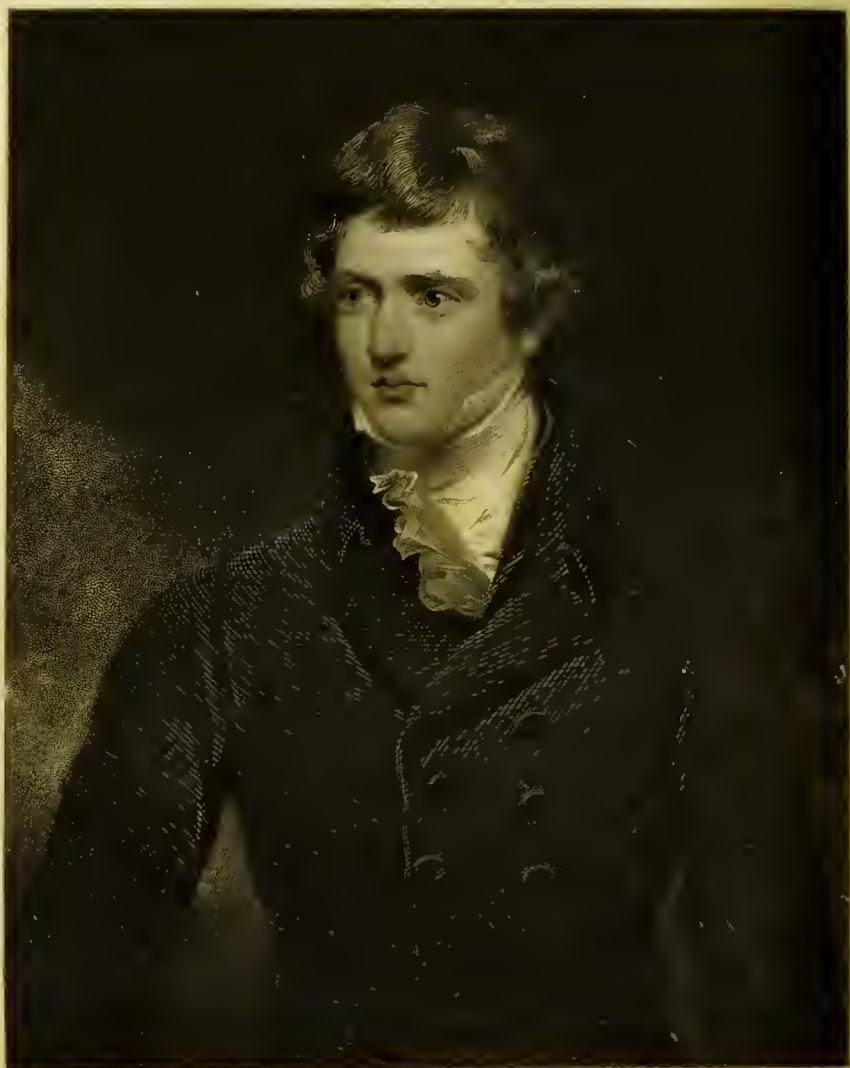
But the days of the Wellington administration were numbered; few public men, perhaps, enjoyed a more lengthened popularity than the hero of Waterloo; and conquerors render such great services to the nations which they have saved from slavery, that there appears to arise an envious desire to release themselves from the obligation very generally,—in some cases by the monarch, as Belisarius and Marlborough testify; in others by the people, as Coriolanus and Napoleon have shown. The military services of Wellington seemed totally forgotten; one bitter, rancorous, unmitigable rage against the enemy of rash and rapid parliamentary reform, absorbed all other considerations; and one of the most wise, liberal, and economic administrations which has ever been recorded in our history, was now condemned as imbecile, despotic, and lavish. The repeal of the test act, the passing of the Catholic relief-bill, the introduction of a new police act, and the reform of the criminal code, none of which were submitted, by subsequent

administrations, to alteration or repeal, were all forgotten; and the authors of these lasting measures, calculated to give still further stability to the constitution, and confer a large amount of happiness on the nation, became marked objects of the people's hatred.

The crisis had now arrived when the strength of parties was to be tested, and when a change occurred in the principles of the constitution, for which some of those very enactments, supported and brought forward by the duke, had laid the foundation. The chancellor of the exchequer having moved, on the fifteenth of November, that the house should go into committee on the civil list, Sir Henry Parnell proposed as an amendment, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the various items connected with the civil list, and to report thereon:" after a long and angry discussion, ministers were defeated by a majority of twenty-seven. Upon the following evening the illustrious premier, evincing no tenacity of office beyond the first moment after confidence had been withdrawn from his cabinet, appeared in the house of lords, and stated that he had tendered his resignation to the king: a similar announcement was made in the other house of parliament by Sir Robert Peel; and both ministers stated that they only held office until their successors were appointed. Thus fell one of the ablest, most wise, and frugal administrations which England had enjoyed for many years—victimised by the anger of the church party, and the ingratitude of the emancipated Roman Catholics. It has been asserted, that the duke withdrew from office more from the anticipation of defeat upon the reform question, than because he had been out-voted on Sir Henry Parnell's motion; but this is not probable, for he persevered in opposing that measure so pertinaciously, that he must have felt convinced the aristocracy would never have assented to it.

That moment in Earl Grey's political life, to which he had looked forward so earnestly and long, at length arrived, when all the principles of government which he had so fondly cherished, were to become the basis of an administration;





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THE RT HON^{BLE} EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY, LORD STANLEY.

Stanley

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and the Whig party, of which he was the head, to take the uncontrolled government of Great Britain. His lordship being named first lord of the treasury, Mr. Brougham was created a peer, and raised at once to the chancellorship; Lord Melbourne took the home secretaryship, and Lord John Russell the paymastership-general. Compensation was made to the feelings of the Marquis of Anglesey by reinstating him in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, with Mr. (afterwards Lord) Stanley as his chief secretary. Lord Hill continued at the horse-guards.

With the whole concentrated strength of the old Whigs, aided by the Roman Catholic party, which the duke himself had raised to power, and who ungratefully attached themselves to his opponents, the first reform cabinet commenced their administration. The distresses of the country were spoken of by the opposition, and the very disturbed state of the agricultural peasantry; but, now installed in office, the Whigs declared that inquiry was unnecessary in the one case, and that the law was powerful enough in the other. In every instance, where the true interests of the country were risked, the Duke of Wellington came forward with the assistance of his invaluable judgment, the overwhelming weight of his influence; and, no matter from what party a project emanated, if its objects were valuable, he gave it his support. This is one of the few instances in our history of an active statesman, qualified for, willing to accept, yet dismissed from office, being so entirely superior to factious motives, that he uniformly neglected, or seemed to forget, the author of each public measure, from a patriotic view of his intentions. Such was the open conduct of this eminent man, almost the next hour after he had been removed from power, and such it continued while his health and increasing years allowed him to share in the councils of the nation. Long exclusion from office had left the Whigs unskilled in the usages of public duties, and, in consequence, their blunders and rashness soon placed them in positions of great awkwardness: a vindictive enemy might have taken advantage of their inexperience, and thrown them completely over; but the magnanimous

individual who led the opposition, with a generosity never exceeded in public life, not only spared, but, by his kindly given support, actually kept them in their seat: a conduct that made a due impression upon the mind of the British people, when the rage of parliamentary reform had abated—when the political delusion vanished—when the very authors of reform either themselves retired in disgust, or were driven from their places by the shouts of the same party which, only a few brief months before, had raised them up.

Notwithstanding the feverish state of the public pulse, the warm declarations of Mr. Brougham, the denunciations against the duke and his anti-reform colleagues, no measure of reform was then proposed by Earl Grey; but, on the contrary, both houses of parliament adjourned to the third of February, 1831. It must not be supposed that the agitation had subsided upon the change of ministers; for, on the eighth of December, a procession, bearing a reform petition, went up to St. James' palace, numerically considered, highly alarming to the peace of the metropolis. This unusual occurrence induced the duke to caution ministers against the overgrowth of such demonstrations; but Lord Melbourne, whose views of reform were aided by these very proceedings, said, that the king had assented to the presentation of the petition by the *Trades of London*; while Lord Brougham was of opinion, that there was nothing illegal in the matter or manner of the people's conduct. Lord Melbourne concluded his observations by moving, that Sisk, the lunatic, who meditated the assassination of the Duke of Wellington, should be given over to the civil power. His grace observed, that Sisk's commitment was a much less serious matter than the question of preserving the public peace; and, notwithstanding the opinion of the lord chancellor, he believed the recent assemblage to have been altogether illegal.

Delegating to Lord John Russell, who was not a cabinet minister, the duty of bringing forward a measure of reform, the new ministry met the parliament again upon the third of February. His lordship stated the chief grievances under which the country laboured in this respect to be—"the nomi-

nation of members by individuals," "elections by close corporations," "the expenses of elections." To remedy these inconveniences, he proposed, a sweeping disfranchisement of the old boroughs, an extension of the elective franchise in those to be created, to householders paying a ten-pound rent; in counties, to copyholders of ten pounds per annum, and leaseholders of fifty pounds: non-resident electors were to be disfranchised, and the duration of elections limited: proprietors of disfranchised boroughs were not to receive compensation. The opposition to the bill was steady, able, and animated, although the country, decidedly, called for the measure; and General Gascoyne, taking advantage of an oversight in the bill, lessening the original number of members, moved an amendment, that "the number should not be diminished;" upon which ministers were defeated by a majority of eight: and, three days afterwards, upon a question of adjournment, being a second time in a minority, they tendered their resignations. The king, however, desired them to appeal to the country, and expressed his determination to dissolve parliament. The discussions that took place during this political crisis, being confined to the lower house, the opinions of the Duke of Wellington were expressed but briefly, and generally in calming the violence of the reform lords. Lord Brougham having inveighed against the conduct of those anti-reformers, who had strenuously exhorted the people not to be misled by the specious character of the bill, the duke reminded him of the impropriety of employing arguments taken from the other house of parliament, and of the unfairness of covering over the false lights held out by reformers, who said, that the proposed measure was only the precursor of universal suffrage. His grace regretted that Scotland had been disturbed by political agitation, that country having advanced so rapidly in commercial prosperity during the previous fifty years; and he stated his belief, that the reform bill would not calm the repeal agitation in Ireland, notwithstanding Lord Brougham's assertion to the contrary, nor the ballot and suffrage advocates in England: in fact, that it was a delusive measure *re verâ*.

While the lower house was wholly occupied with the reform bill, the upper endeavoured to carry on the business of the country, in which Earl Grey was much assisted by the Duke of Wellington, whose knowledge of financial history was most extensive. It was proposed to go into committee upon the civil list, on the nineteenth of April, but, on grounds so exceedingly erroneous, that the duke felt it necessary to acquaint the country with the present financial relation between the people and the monarch of these realms. He reminded parliament, that the crown supported itself upon its hereditary revenues up to the reign of George II.; nor was it until the commencement of the reign of his successor, that that system was departed from. Those revenues, exclusive of all droits and West-India duties, exceeded £850,000 per annum, to which sum the sovereign had as much right as any proprietor in England to his estate. The civil list, however, became in debt, and changes were suggested, such as bringing charges for ambassadors under the annual parliamentary vote. In Earl Grey's proposed change, the salaries of the great officers of state were subjected to an annual vote; to this he objected, because a small, but capricious, majority in the commons might diminish these salaries at pleasure. At the period of the revolution, the hereditary revenues of the crown constituted a subject of anxious discussion; yet in providing for royalty, no separation of the crown from the civil list was contemplated. This was a modern and a weak invention; it might suddenly deprive the crown of a valuable public officer; and as to the repairs of the royal residence, that should be left in the hands of the treasury.—Earl Grey was mistaken in supposing that he could save, to this great country, £4,000 per annum on the Scotch and Irish pensions: his grace deprecated the disturbance of pensions, some of which might have been granted on insufficient grounds, but the majority well deserved. Two had been granted, unsolicited, to near relations of his; one after the battle of Salamanca, the other after that of Vittoria. Parliament might take away those honourable marks of royal

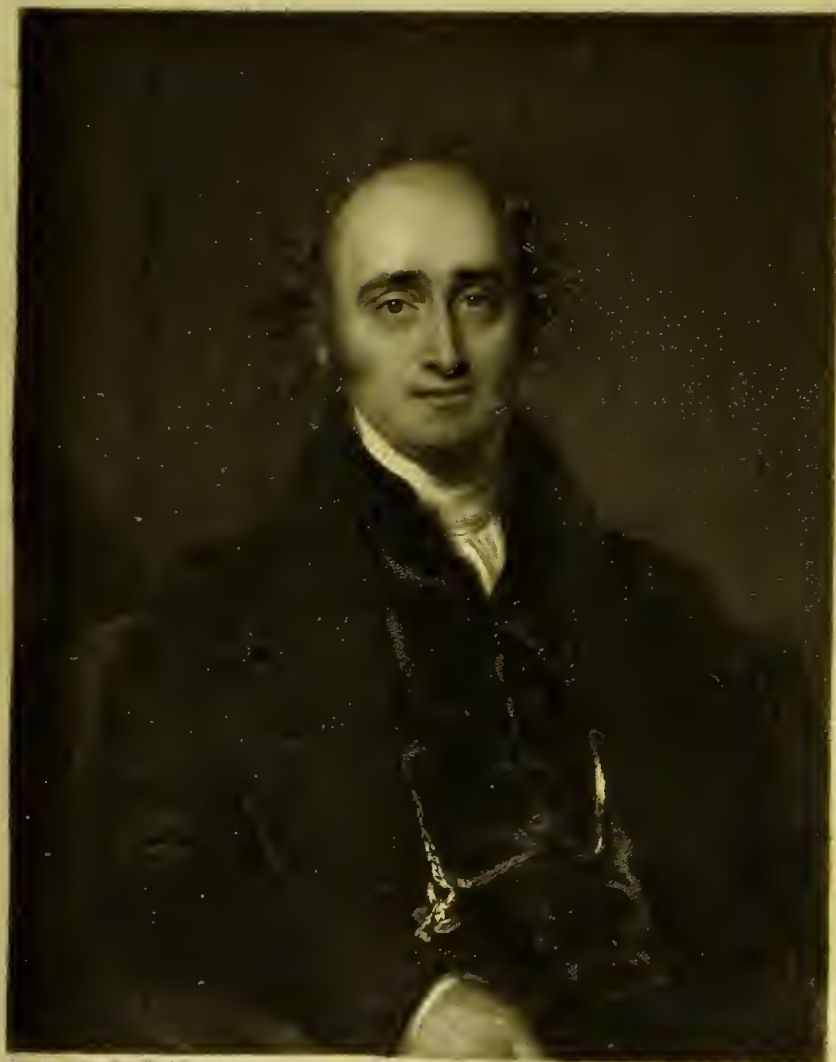
favour; but he would never consent to his relations resigning them. He felt indignant at the contemplated separation of the civil list from the expenses of the crown;—looked on the proposed reductions in the salaries of the numerous persons in humble rank, as heartless—in the higher offices, as unworthy of this country; and pointed to Mr. Pitt, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Canning, as men who had been impoverished by accepting office. To those who have made the history of their country their study, and its true interests their object, this lesson of the great statesman as to the value of precedent, cannot be lost;—it proved of essential importance to Lord Grey's cabinet.

It was in the early part of the year 1831, one so memorable in his grace's political life, that he was visited by a domestic affliction, the loss of his amiable duchess. Her grace had long laboured under general debility, from which not even her retired habits could rescue her, and, sinking gradually, her death was not unexpected. Her remains were interred at Strathfieldsaye; and the funeral procession was attended, for a part of the journey from Apsley House, where she expired, by the carriages of their majesties and of all the members of the royal family.* Soon after this privation, for which his grace could not have been unprepared, parliamentary duties called him away; and the re-assembling of that body was rather a relief to the country, which was then shaken to its centre by violently contested elections. The king opened parliament in person on the fourteenth of June, and recommended in distinct terms the expediency of a reform in the representation. The intentions of this honest old man have never been questioned; and it is confidently believed that he desired to gratify and to benefit the country; his mind, therefore, was unpolluted by factious feeling; and, on the eighteenth of June, notwithstanding the duke's hostility to the ministerial measure, King William IV. presented him, by the hand of his son the Earl of Munster, with a splendid sword, decorated with the royal arms and those of the hero. His majesty also attended the annual banquet at Apsley House, in the evening

* Vide Vol I. page 97.

of that day, sitting at the duke's right, while the Duke of Brunswick, son of the brave soldier who fell at Waterloo, was on his left.

Upon the twenty-fourth of June, however, the reform contest was resumed by Lord J. Russell, who assured the house that such changes alone had been made in the bill, since it was last presented, as were calculated to remove the most reasonable objections of anti-reformers. Sir Robert Peel, however, resisted the committal with all that eloquence of which he was so complete a master; and the searching scrutiny to which it was subjected in committee, by Mr. Wilson Croker, gave it the only intrinsic value which it was found to possess, when it subsequently became the law of the land. The influence which the Whigs had acquired by becoming the promoters of a reform bill, was resistless; and, although its inconsistencies, partialities, and absurdities were demonstrated by Mr. Croker, almost as frequently as changes in the representation were proposed, his valuable services were branded with the stamp of faction, while the country were not ashamed to adopt his suggestions. The bill having passed the commons by a large majority, on the nineteenth of July, was taken up the next day to the lords, by upwards of one hundred members, headed by Lords Althorp and Russell, and delivered to the lord chancellor; being read a first time *pro forma*, the third of October was appointed for the second. The political fever with which England now burned has probably never been exceeded; equal excitement never before prevailed, unattended with violence and loss of life. Without perfectly comprehending the objects likely to be attained, by such a crude and undigested measure, the people called for the reform bill in tones not to be misunderstood, and in language that declared their confidence in its efficacy as a charter of freedom, a source of happiness, and basis of commercial prosperity. That it failed to confer the first of these great expectations, is evident from its having diminished the numerical amount of electors; that it did not produce the second, it is sufficient evidence to state, that when Earl Grey



Engraved by T. H. Parry.

THE RT HON^{BLE} JOHN WILSON CROKER, L.L.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. &c.

John Croker

was withdrawing from public life, the clamour of the same political party for a reform of the reform bill, followed him into his retirement. Free trade, a long cherished watchword of a party, found no countenance in the reformed parliament; for, many years passed, during which no progress, no proposition, for further speculations in this species of legislation, was ever made.

During the interval given to the most inflexible amongst the lords for reflection, the mob everywhere exhibited the utmost impatience of restraint; eulogizing the virtue of those senators whose banners bore "*populus jussit*," and proceeding to acts of outrage against those who dared to employ personal judgment. The property of the Duke of Wellington in Hampshire was flagrantly abused by ruffians, pretending to be poachers; a gang of whom, thirteen in number, entered his grace's preserves, and deliberately commenced the extermination of his game. The fidelity of the gamekeepers proved fatal to one of them, Woolford, who was killed in his gallant efforts to drive the miscreants away.

The reform mania having seized the corporation of London with the same intensity, that respectable and wealthy body presented petitions breathing their love of liberty, and at the same time withdrew their objection to the admission of Jews to the freedom of the city. The crowd that attended the representatives of the corporation to present their petition, finding their hatred of the anti-reformers increase with their approach to the throne of the reform-king, proceeded from the palace to St. James' Square, where they broke the windows of Lord Bristol's mansion, and then moving on to Apsley House, discharged numerous volleys of stones and other missiles against the front of his grace's palace. By the assistance of the police, and the determination of the duke's servants, the rioters were driven into Hyde Park, where the lifeless Achilles became the object of their cowardly assaults. With the exception of some depredations committed on the mansion and premises of Lord Dudley and Ward in Park Lane, no other violence was committed on this occasion.

In other parts of the kingdom the sensation was similar; the ferocity of the lowest classes still greater. Placards were posted up with the words, "What will the lords do?" The journals that advocated reform, suggested the alternative of swamping the upper house by the creation of new peers; and the declaration of the Duke of Newcastle, "that he had a right to do what he pleased with his own," led to the total destruction, by the mob, of his ancient castle at Nottingham.

The bill was introduced in the house of lords by Earl Grey, in a speech of much length, but, his own political career excepted, embracing no new argument for the proposed change in the constitution. In the agitated state of the country, and when personal violence had been offered to many members of that house, who had exercised the privilege of their order, by speaking and voting as their consciences dictated, nothing could have been more ill-timed, inconsiderate, or unbecoming, than the sarcasm and the warning which the minister directed towards the episcopal bench. He advised their lordships "*to set their house in order to meet the coming storm*"; to consider seriously what would be the opinion of the country, should a measure upon which the nation had fixed its hope be defeated by their influence." His lordship's further observations involved an obvious inconsistency, by complaining of the power which property conferred upon individuals, while he assured the house, that the proposed bill would still preserve to its owners that proper influence which they ought and always would command. This latter effect was perfectly true; but, had the public perceived it they would not have vociferated for such a reform: had the Duke of Wellington observed it at first, as he certainly did very shortly afterwards, he would never have opposed the measure. Earl Grey appeared deeply affected by the degree of personal responsibility which the bill imposed upon him: he declared, in unqualified terms, that the great object of his early ambition had been parliamentary reform; but that if the measure which he then proposed had the revolutionary tendency which its opponents imputed to it, he would be the first to condemn,

the last to propose it. He next proceeded to trace the growth of the spirit of reform up to the irresistible power it then possessed; affirmed that the representative franchise was not a property, but a trust that had been abused; expressed his attachment to the Protestant religion, his respect for its ministers; and, having defended the leading features of his bill, concluded by declaring that ministers had fastened the colours to the mast, and would stand or fall in the conflict for parliamentary reform.

That his grace had not yet perceived the real character of the bill, with which Earl Grey's cabinet had deceived themselves, and the fallacies of which had escaped general observation, seems palpably plain from his reply to the minister on this occasion. Having remonstrated against the interpretation put upon his recent anti-reform declaration, and assured the house that he never had said what was attributed to him, but merely passed an eulogy on the constitution, stating, "that were the task of framing a government consigned to him, he would endeavour to form one like that of England, in which *property* should preponderate," he repudiated the insulting taunt of Lord Brougham, that "his rashness had accelerated the reform catastrophe." His grace then added, "that Earl Grey's bill went to violate both the principle and the practice of the constitution; that the town representation would be thrown into the hands of close, self-elected committees; and, by the undue enlargement of the powers of the town constituency, the balance of the agricultural representation of the counties would be destroyed. The bill would create a fierce democratic body of representatives; and, under this enactment, the churches of England and Ireland would soon cease to exist." The discussion that followed was of the most unparliamentary character; but it contradicted, clearly, the insinuation of Earl Grey, that the opposition originated with, or was confined to, the episcopal bench, the measure being rejected by a majority of forty-one.

This result so inflamed the reformers, that their violence everywhere was uncontrolled. The Birmingham trades-union called

for an increase to the number of peers—the corporation of London reiterated their prayers for the continuance of Earl Grey in office. The Marquis of Londonderry, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Archbishop of Canterbury were publicly insulted, and violence offered to the persons of the two former. Unmoved by these demonstrations, the Duke continued to oppose the reform bill, but gave his support and his attention to every useful measure presented to parliament by ministers; he interfered in the somewhat singular question of the Galway franchise-bill—cautioned government against suffering the national expenditure to increase, while its revenues decreased—directed the legislature in the mediation between Belgium and Holland—remonstrated against giving a patent of precedence to Mr. O'Connell, who had been recently prosecuted to conviction by the government, this reward for agitation placing him above Mr. Blackburn, who had shewn himself a much sounder lawyer than the agitator in several instances—advised that Protestant and Catholic children, in Ireland, should be taught in separate schools; and, pointed out to ministers the mode to be adopted for the preservation of the Irish established church, then menaced with extinction by the violent course pursued by the abolitionists of tithes.

On the re-introduction of the reform-bill, by Earl Grey, in March, 1832, it obtained an augmented support, by the desertion of the bishop of London and a few of the opposition lords to the other side; but neither the influence of their example, nor any senatorial ability which they carried along with them, appears to have diminished the determination, and violence, with which the stormy debate on this question was continued. The Bishop of Exeter, by his able advocacy of the views of his party, drew down upon himself the wrath of Lord Durham, who was characterising the speech of the prelate, “as coarse and virulent invective, malignant and false insinuations, the greatest perversion of historical facts, decked out with all the choicest flowers of pamphleteering slang,” when he was called to order by the house. In consequence of the desertions just alluded to, the bill passed through the



Painted by Sir Thos Lawrence P.R.A.

Engraved by J. G. Lambton

THE RT HONBLE JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, EARL OF DURHAM.

Lambton

second reading, by a majority of nine; upon which the Duke of Wellington and seventy-four peers entered their protest upon the journals.

Upon the reassemblage of the lords, it was proposed to postpone the question of disfranchisement to that of enfranchisement; upon this point, the ministers being defeated, waited on the king, and gave him the choice of either creating a sufficient number of new peers, or accepting their resignation. His majesty preferred the latter course. Sending for Lord Lyndhurst, the king desired him to communicate with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—with which command his lordship immediately complied; but these statesmen, fully sensible of their inability to resist the reform fever of the country, and equally resolved never to propose such a measure in parliament, declined to accept the honour that awaited them. No other alternative now remained to the king, than that of recalling his late ministers, an event attended with so much wide-spread applause, that the duke and his party offered no farther opposition, but silently suffered the reform-bill to become the law of the land.

From this period we shall only perceive in the Duke of Wellington the venerable, patriotic statesman, wholly disconnected from factious or party purposes, opposing profligate measures, cherishing those that were virtuous, and sustaining useful projects in parliament, without any consideration of the source whence they emanated. In each important question presented, his grace took some part; and his manly, straightforward conduct in every instance, sustained his elevated character amongst his own friends, and recovered much of that popularity which he sacrificed by opposing the reform-bill. When Earl Grey, the most determined and most mistaken of the duke's political enemies, rose, in the house, to declare his intention of retiring from public life, he was so completely overpowered by the occasion, that for some minutes he was unable to proceed; the duke, perceiving his embarrassment, made the presentation of some petitions a pretext for diverting the attention of the house from the noble premier,

until he had recovered himself sufficiently to proceed with his explanation.

Lord Grey was succeeded in the responsible position of prime minister, by Lord Melbourne; but, from the moment of his appointment, there was an evident instability in the government, which, on the resignation of Lord Althorp, ended in the sudden dissolution of the reform cabinet. On the fifteenth of November, 1834, the king being informed of the secession, or retirement, of the principal reform-lords from political life, laid his commands, to form a new administration, upon the Duke of Wellington, and received his grace's advice, on that occasion, to place Sir Robert Peel at the head of the treasury. This was not merely a wise and cautious policy, but an act of sterling friendship and of noble generosity. Sir Robert appears to have yielded to the importunities of the Duke upon the question of Catholic emancipation, and, by that concession, forfeited the affections of a large portion of the Protestant community, whose champion he had hitherto been; the position, in which he was now placed, was a species of compensation for the sacrifices he had made for his illustrious colleague on that question. When the duke accepted office, Sir Robert was on a tour in Italy, and, until his return to England, his grace was necessitated to discharge the principal duties, and, alone, to fill all the different offices of the state; and under his dictatorship the wheels of government rolled safely and silently on. But the restoration of the Wellington ministry was premature; the reformers, elated by their recent triumph, offered a resistance in the lower house, to which the experience and conspicuous abilities of Sir Robert Peel were unequal; and, having first elected a speaker from their party, and soon after carried a clause for appropriating part of the church property, in Ireland, to the purposes of education, ministers felt the futility of retaining office, and resigned, after an existence of little more than four months.

Thus closed the ministerial career of the great duke; as strongly marked by every trait of wisdom and magnanimity, as his military life had been distinguished by shining abilities

and splendid successes. From this period, he is looked towards as one of the ablest and most honest senators; as the faithful guide of both parties; the leader, or the creature, of neither. Every hour of his parliamentary history gives further proof of his wisdom and foresight as a legislator; and England has been taught, by melancholy and memorable experience, that tranquillity would have been preserved in Canada, and our commercial relations with China never interrupted, had the warning voice of her Themistocles been hearkened to by the ministers of the country.

No further earthly honour can now be added to the name of Wellington: he occupies the loftiest pedestal in the pantheon of his country; he stands alone in the history of Europe:—recent events in the annals of this nation have contributed to place his character in still bolder relief, and leave him in the undisputed, and, even in life, the unenvied enjoyment of the proud title of being *the greatest soldier, statesman, and citizen, England has ever known.*

THE END.

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Aallum Shah, Great Mogul, dethroned, and deprived of sight by his minister Gulam Khader, i. 47. Restored by the British, i. 67.
- Albuera, the French under Soult defeated there by the British under Beresford, iii. 209.
- Albuquerque, Duke of, saves the army of Cuesta from destruction by his signal check to the French pursuers, ii. 128. His bravery and conduct at the battle of Talavera, ii. 146. His gallantry and activity in the retreat of the Spaniards from Talavera, ii. 169. By a forced march brings his troops into Cadiz, ii. 271. Is appointed governor of Cadiz, ii. 273. His great popularity, ii. 273. His ungrateful treatment by the government, ii. 277. His retirement to England, and death, ii. 278.
- Alvarez, his desperate defence of Gerona, ii. 281. His death, ii. 285. Honours to his memory in London, iii. 29.
- Alcobaça, its splendid monastery burned by the French, iii. 81.
- Alexander, Emperor of Russia, makes overtures to the Duke of Wellington to enter his service, iv. 18. Places the Russian army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, iv. 19. Enters Paris along with the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, iv. 34. Violent despotism of his views at the Congress of Vienna, iv. 131.
- Alexander, Mr., convicted of libel on the Duke of Wellington, iv. 349.
- Almeida, invested by the French, ii. 393. Taken on the first day of siege in consequence of the explosion of the magazine, ii. 398. Evacuated by the French, iii. 190.
- Alorna, Marquis d', deserts from the Portuguese government to the French, ii. 400. Is made a general of division by Napoleon, and sent to Portugal, *ibid.*
- Amarante, bridge of, Silveira defeated there by Soult, ii. 63. Account of that splendid structure, ii. 63.
- Anglesey, Marquis of, see Paget.
- Areizaga, marches at the head of the Spanish army to drive the French out of Madrid, ii. 236. Is defeated by Soult at Ocana, and his army annihilated, ii. 241. Is defeated by Sebastiani at Jaen, ii. 266.
- Argaum, defeat of Scindiah there by the British under General Wellesley, i. 70.
- Argenton, D', a leader among the Philadelphes, agitates plans for betraying Soult, ii. 60. Has conferences with Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 61. Is arrested by Soult and escapes, ii. 62. Receives an asylum in England, ii. 94. Returns to France, and is there put to death, *ibid.*
- Arroya Molinos, the French division under Girard surprised and captured there by the British under Hill, iii. 227.
- Arzobispo, bridge of, crossed by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who thus evades the attack of the united French marshals, ii. 167. Defeat of the Spaniards there under Cuesta, by the French under Soult, ii. 169.

- Assaye, defeat of Scindiah there by the British, commanded by General Wellesley, i. 64.
- Astorga, obstinately defended by the Spaniards under Santocildes against the French under Junot, ii. 330.
- Atrocities, frightful, perpetrated by the Portuguese, i. 388. By the French, i. 414. ii. 72. iii. 92, 95, 96, 106, 107.
- Augereau, succeeds St. Cyr in the command of the army besieging Gerona, ii. 284. Takes that town after an obstinate siege, ii. 285.
- Augustina, Maid of Saragossa, her heroic and important services in the defence of the town, i. 181.

B.

- Badajos, besieged by the French under Soult, iii. 33. Description of, iii. 64. Is surrendered treasonably by the commandant Imaz, iii. 66. Its extreme importance to the safety of Spain, iii. 67. Is invested by the British, iii. 200. Is stormed after a frightful resistance, iii. 241.
- Baird, Sir David, distinguished when general at the storming of Seringapatam, i. 34. Lands in command of a British army at Corunna, i. 281. Advances to Astorga, i. 308. Is severely wounded at the battle of Corunna, i. 357.
- Ballasteros, reinforced by Romana, is defeated by the French, at Benvenida, ii. 385. In command of the Spanish troops, refusing to support the Marquis of Wellington, is cashiered, and confined in Ceuta, iii. 291.
- Barcelona, garrisoned by Dukesme, i. 425.
- Barrosa, the French, under Victor, defeated there with great slaughter, by the British, under Graham, iii. 37.
- Bassecourt, camp-marshal of the Spanish army, his important services at the battle of Talavera, ii. 139, 149.
- Batalha. Its splendid palace ruined by the French, iii. 84.
- Baylen, battle of, in which the French, under Dupont, are defeated by the Spaniards, under Castanos, i. 172.
- Bayonne. Soult strongly entrenches himself there, iii. 412. Is invested by Lord Wellington, iii. 421.
- Beckwith, General, defeats the French at Barba de Pucro, ii. 331.
- Belvedere, Conde de, in command of the Spaniards, defeated at Gamonal with great slaughter by the French, under Soult, i. 287.
- Bentinck, Lord William, in command of the Anglo-Sicilian army, defeated by Suchet, in command of the French, at Ordal, iii. 363.
- Beresford, Marshal, appointed commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, i. 402. Defeats the French, under Loisson, at the bridge of Amarante, ii. 85. Leads back the Portuguese army under his command from Spain, ii. 208. His great success in disciplining the Portuguese army, ii. 419. Invested with the order of the bath, ii. 468. Strong testimony to his merits, by Lord Wellington, ii. 423. Advances from the Alemtejos against Badajos, iii. 170. Defeats the French under Soult, at Albuera, iii. 209. Receives the thanks of both houses of Parliament, iii. 216. Leads back the Portuguese army under his command from Spain, iii. 208. Created Marquis of Campo Mayor, iii. 313.
- Beresford, Lord John George, primate of Ireland, opposes the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 298.
- Berkeley, Admiral, in command of the British fleet in the Tagus, his vigilance in checking the French, ii. 503.
- Bessieres, Marshal, defeats the Spaniards under Cuesta with great slaughter, at Rio Seco, i. 171.
- Blake, general of the Spanish forces, defeated by the French, under Lefevre, near Durango, i. 261. And under Victor, at Espinosa, i. 283. Resigns the command, i. 268. Defeats the French at Alcaniz, i. 440. Succeeds to the command of Arizaga's army, ii. 266. Is defeated by Suchet, near Saragossa.

- ii. 279. Capitulates with all his army in Valentia to the French, under Suchet, iii. 237.
- Blucher, Marshal, takes the command of the Prussian army in the Netherlands, iii. 503. Receives a dreadful defeat at Ligny, from Napoleon, iii. 528. Is struck down there, and in the utmost peril, iii. 530. Retreats to Wavre, iii. 542. Is attacked by Grouchy, at Wavre, iii. 574. Joins the British at the close of the battle of Waterloo, and annihilates the remains of the French army, iii. 586. Discreditably arrogates to himself the glory of the victory at Waterloo, iv. 3. Enters France at the head of the Prussian army, iv. 12. Defeats Grouchy, near Laon, iv. 19. Crosses the Seine, and invests Paris, iv. 20. Is determined to put Napoleon to death, in case he should sieze him, iv. 21. Is dissuaded strongly by the Duke of Wellington, iv. 21. Enters Paris, lays contributions on the citizens, and commences the destruction of the bridge of Jena, iv. 34. Is prevented by the interference of the Duke of Wellington, iv. 35. Restores to Prussia the works of art plundered from it by Napoleon, iv. 46.
- Bourdeaux, occupied by Lord Wellington, who is enthusiastically received there, iii. 427.
- Britain, government of, sends an expedition to the Low Countries, under the Duke of York, i. 13. Sends an expedition to Hanover, under Lord Cathcart, i. 96. Sends an expedition to Denmark, under Lord Cathcart, i. 107. Transmits money, arms, and ammunition to Portugal, i. 157. Makes peace with Spain, i. 164. Despatches an expedition from Cork to the Peninsula, i. 195. Reinforces the army in Portugal with five thousand men, ii. 101. Takes 30,000 Portuguese into its service, at an expense of £930,000 per annum, ii. 334.
- British soldiery, their insubordination in Portugal, ii. 103. Much distressed for want of money, ii. 107, 108. And for want of provisions in consequence of the treachery and ingratitude of the Spaniards, ii. 177, 178. Their extreme distress for provisions in consequence of the treachery of the Spaniards, ii. 191. Suffer dreadfully from epidemic, ii. 207. Their unshaken bravery attested by Soult, iii.
- Brougham, Mr., his earnest advocacy of the cause of Queen Caroline, iv. 117. Strongly censures the invasion of Spain by the French, iv. 133. Refuses the office of master of the rolls, iv. 143. At the instance of Campbell the poet, effects the establishment of the London University, iv. 244. His anxiety to conciliate William IV. on his accession to the throne, iv. 355.
- Brunswick, Duke of, falls gloriously at Quatre Bras, iii. 538.
- Bulow, General, in command of the Prussians, assists in completing the destruction of the French, by his active and implacable pursuit at Waterloo, iii. 588. Defeats Grouchy, near Laon, iv. 19.
- Buonaparte, Napoleon, Joseph, and Jerome. See Napoleon, Joseph, Jerome.
- Burdett, Sir Francis, censures the plan of the Spanish campaign, ii. 302.
- Burgos, occupied by the Marquis of Wellington, iii. 284. Who gives five assaults to the castle, and is severely repulsed, iii. 286. The castle evacuated and blown up by the French, iii. 336.
- Burrard, Sir Harry, appointed to supersede Sir Arthur Wellesley in the command of the army in Portugal, i. 199. Forbids Sir Arthur Wellesley to follow up the victory at Vimiera, i. 213. His conduct submitted to a court of inquiry, and approved of, i. 239.
- Busaco, battle of, in which the French, under Massena, receive a severe defeat from Lord Wellington, ii. 422.

C.

- Cadiz, garrisoned by Albuquerque, ii. 273. Description of its site, ii. 275. Its garrison reinforced by the British, ii. 276. Besieged by the French, under Victor, ii. 271. Its siege raised, in consequence of the victory of Lord Wellington, at Salamanca, iii. 279.

- Calcraft, Mr. his virulent and unjust invective against Lord Wellington, ii. 316.
- Campbell, Sir Archibald, his brilliant services in the Burmese war, iv. 180.
- Cambray, surrendered to the British in trust for Louis XVIII. iv. 13.
- Canning, Right Hon. George, defends ministers for their management of the expedition to Portugal, ii. 32. Accuses Lord Castlereagh of incapacity, ii. 287. His duel with Lord Castlereagh, ii. 288. Is appointed governor-general of India, iv. 130. On the death of Lord Londonderry, is appointed foreign secretary, *ibid.* Is appointed premier by George IV., iv. 152. His resolutions on the corn-laws, iv. 153. Carries them through the commons, but they are lost in the lords, *ibid.* Account of his administration, iv. 154. Is opposed by the Duke of Wellington with inveterate hostility, iv. 150. Is grossly insulted by the Duke of Newcastle, iv. 194. His death, iv. 155. Parallel between him and Mr. Fox, *ibid.* A pension settled on his family, iv. 238.
- Canterbury, Dr. Howley, Archbishop of, opposes the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 297.
- Carlile, his pertinacity in publishing blasphemous libels, iv. 108.
- Carlos, Don, brother of Ferdinand, excluded from the throne of Spain, by the marriage of that prince, iv. 347.
- Caroline, Queen of George IV. persecuted by her consort and his ministers, iv. 110. Is accused of adultery with Bartolomeo Bergami, *ibid.* Lord Liverpool introduces into parliament a bill of pains and penalties against her, *ibid.* Its failure, *ibid.* She is universally supported by the people, *ibid.* Obtains a settlement of £50,000 per annum, iv. 111. Is excluded by a decision of the privy council from sharing in the ceremony of the coronation, iv. 117. Is opprobriously repulsed when she applies for admission, iv. 118. Dies of a broken heart, *ibid.*
- Casa Salinas, severe check received there by the British under Mackenzie, from the French under Victor, ii. 133.
- Castanos, declared captain-general of the Spanish armies, i. 172. Defeats Dupont at Baylen, and compels him to surrender, i. 174. Conjointly with Palafox in command of the Spanish army, defeated at Tudela, with great slaughter by the French under Lasnes, i. 291.
- Castlereagh, Lord, his defence of ministers against Lord Henry Petty, ii. 2, 9. Is accused of incapacity by Mr. Canning, ii. 287. His character, *ibid.* See Londonderry.
- Cathcart, Lord, commands an expedition to Hanover, i. 96. Commands an expedition to Denmark, i. 107.
- Catholics, Roman, motion for their relief in the house of commons, by Sir Francis Burdett, carried, iv. 239. In the house of lords, by the Marquis of Lansdowne, fails, iv. 240. Violent opposition to the measure in and out of parliament, iv. 275. Bill for their relief introduced into the house of commons by Mr. Peel, and carried by a great majority, iv. 287. By the Duke of Wellington in the house of lords, and carried by a great majority, iv. 331.
- Catholic association, sketch of its history, iv. 267. Voluntarily dissolves itself, iv. 281.
- Catholic question, retrospective view of it, iv. 332.
- Cavado, river, severe defeat of Soult on its banks, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 90.
- Chaplains, their number, remuneration, and character, too low in the British army, iii. 18.
- Charles IV., king of Spain, contemplates emigration to Mexico, i. 134. Abdicates the throne, i. 135. Declares his abdication constrained and invalid, i. 137. Is conveyed by Napoleon's orders to Bayonne, i. 142.
- Cintra, convention of, by which the French evacuate Portugal, i. 219. Clamour against it at home, i. 232. Approved of by a court of inquiry, i. 239.
- Ciudad Rodrigo, weak state of its defences when besieged by the French, ii. 345. Surrenders after an obstinate defence, ii. 348. Stormed by Lord Wellington, iii. 232. Its fall alienates the Spaniards from the British, ii. 354.

- Clarence, Duke of, made lord-high-admiral, iv. 153. Resigns, iv. 214. Supports measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 281.
- Coa, bridge of, severe check received by the French there, from the British under General Craufurd, ii. 362.
- Cochrane, Lord, succours Rosas, i. 431.
- Coimbra, occupied by Massena, ii. 431. Is ordered to be burned by Massena, but saved by the English under Trant, iii. 91, 93.
- Colley, the original name of the Wellesley family, i. 1. Exchanged for that of Wesley or Wellesley, i. 5.
- Condeixa, sacked and burned by the French, under Massena, iii. 92.
- Congress of Vienna, declares Napoleon, on his return from Elba, an outlaw, iii. 482. Vast efforts of its constituent members to crush Napoleon, iii. 502. That of Verona, its despotical views, iv. 130. Is attended by the Duke of Wellington, as plenipotentiary of Britain, *ibid.* His liberal remonstrances, iv. 131.
- Copenhagen, bombarded by the British troops, i. 112. Occupied by the British army, i. 115. Great slaughter caused by the bombardment, i. 116.
- Cornwallis, Lord, his successes against Tippoo Sultaun, i. 24.
- Cortes, or, general representative assembly of Spain, its constitution, and first meeting, iii. 23. Its republican bias, *ibid.* Declares all the acts of the king null as long as he remains in the power of the French, iii. 24. Their vacillation and inconsistency, as to acknowledging the title of Ferdinand, *ibid.* Their liberal and judicious measures, iii. 25. Dissolve the regency, and appoint another, iii. 26. Their unjustifiable and ruinous tyranny towards the colonies, *ibid.* Their infamous treatment of Albuquerque, iii. 28. Become unpopular from wishing to abolish the inquisition, iii. 317.
- Corunna, battle of, defeat of the French under Soult, by the British under Moore, i. 361.
- Cotton, Sir Stapleton, in command of the British cavalry, decides the victory at Talavera, ii. 145. Commands the British cavalry at the battle of Busaco, ii. 416. Gives a severe check to the French at Alcoentre, ii. 443. (Lord Combermere) receives the thanks of parliament, for the capture of Bhurt-pore, iv. 180.
- Cox, Brigadier-general, appointed commander of Almeida, ii. 373, 394. His intrepid conduct, ii. 397. Is obliged to surrender, ii. 398.
- Cradock, Sir John, appointed to the command in Portugal, i. 391. Great difficulties of his situation, i. 391, 398. Superseded in command by the appointment of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and made Governor of Gibraltar, ii. 41. Statement of his successive promotions, ii. 42.
- Craufurd, General, his gallant and rapid march to relieve the British at Talavera, ii. 151. Gives a severe repulse to the French in their attempt to cross the Coa, ii. 360. Drives back the French with immense slaughter, at Busaco, ii. 421. Allows himself to be surprised by the French, at Alemquer, ii. 443. Killed in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, iii. 229.
- Cuesta, in command of the Spanish army, defeated with great slaughter, by Bessieres, at Rio Seco, i. 171. Defeated with dreadful slaughter, by Victor, at Medellin, i. 409. Appointed to the command of the army of Andalusia, i. 410. His vexatious and wrongheaded obstinacy, in thwarting Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 107. His extreme physical debility, ii. 114, 117. His singular character and conduct, ii. 115. Allows the French to escape, by refusing to co-operate in giving battle, ii. 119. Pursues the French army, with the view of entering Madrid, ii. 124. His cowardice at the battle of Talavera, ii. 135. His suspicious and disgraceful inactivity there, ii. 140. His cruelty to the troops under his command, iii. 151. His inhuman treachery in deserting the British wounded, ii. 264.
- Cumberland, Duke of, violently opposes measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 281.
- Curtis, Rev. Dr., Roman Catholic primate of Ireland, his services to the British army at Salamanca, iv. 257. His intimacy with the Duke of Wel-

lington, iv. 260. And with the Marquis of Anglesey, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, iv. 256. His correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, *ibid*.

D.

- Dalrymple, Sir Hew, governor of Gibraltar, assists the Spaniards, i. 155. Appointed to supersede Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir Harry Burrard i. 199, 216. Concludes the Convention of Cintra, by which Junot and the French under his command evacuate Portugal, i. 219. Takes possession of Lisbon, i. 220. His conduct strongly censured by Sir Arthur Wellesley, i. 225, 229. Submitted to a court of inquiry and approved of, i. 239. Censured strongly by the crown, i. 240.
- Davoust, commander of the garrison of Paris, concludes a military convention for the evacuation of that city by the French troops, iv. 31.
- Denmark, government of, professes neutrality between Britain and France, i. 107. Required to surrender its fleet to Britain in deposit, i. 107, 108. Expedition against, i. 107. Its army defeated by General Wellesley, at Kiøge, i. 112. Its fleet surrendered to the British, i. 113.
- Diez Juan Martin, see Empecinado.
- Donkin, Sir Rufane, repulses the French at Portinæ, ii. 135.
- Donoughmore, Lord, makes a motion in the House of Lords proposing that Roman Catholics should be admitted into parliament, iv. 102. It is negatived by a large majority, iv. 104.
- Douro, river, passage of, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who surprises the French, ii. 76.
- Doyle, Sir Charles William, places Saragossa in a state of defence, i. 417.
- Duhesme, General, defeated by the Catalans at Bruch, i. 108. Is repulsed in an attack on Gerona, i. 169.
- Dulong, General, his activity and valour save the French army in its retreat from Oporto, ii. 89.
- Dundas, General, succeeds the Duke of York in the Low Countries, i. 17. Retreats into Germany, i. 18. His admirable conduct and success, i. 20.
- Dupont, General, leads the French troops into Andalusia, i. 172.

E.

- Eguia, General, appointed to succeed Cuesta in the command of the Spanish army, ii. 178. His vulgar insolence to Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 190. The severe censure passed on him by Wellington, ii. 219. His infamous meanness, ii. 225.
- Eldon, Lord, refuses to hold office with Mr. Canning, iv. 152. Violently opposes the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, iv. 230. Earnestly and pertinaciously opposes the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 327.
- Ellenborough, Lord, his determined opposition to the administration of Mr. Canning, iv. 175.
- Empecinado el, commences the Guerilla system, ii. 244. His gallant and patriotic career, ii. 245. His lamentable fate, *ibid*.
- Expedition to the Low Countries, under the Duke of York, i. 13. To Hanover, under Lord Cathcart, i. 96. To Denmark, under Lord Cathcart, i. 107. Its triumphant issue, i. 116. To the Peninsula, from Cork, i. 195.

F.

- Fane, Major-General, destroys the French flotilla at Santarem, ii. 491.
- Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, heir of Spain, writes to implore the protection of Napoleon, i. 128. Not recognized by the French on the abdication of his father, i. 137. At the instance of Savary, retires to Bayonne, i. 139, 141. Is compelled by Napoleon to abdicate the throne of Spain, i. 144. Is sent to

- Valençay, i. 145. Is restored to liberty after a captivity of six years, i. 145. His marriage, i. 145. iv. 347. Proclaimed king in Madrid, i. 249. Is promised by Napoleon to be recognized king of Spain, iii. 406. Released and sent into Spain by Napoleon, iii. 440. Promises his subjects a free constitution, iii. 446. Is restored to absolute power by the army of Louis XVIII, iv. 111.
- Ferguson, General, his heroic and important services at Vimiera, i. 215.
- Fidalgos, (gentlemen of Portugal), their traitorous communication with the French, iii. 21.
- Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, his attainder reversed by George IV., iv. 106.
- Fletcher, Colonel, the aid which he gives Lord Wellington in forming the lines of Torres Vedras, ii. 230, 451. His great eminence as an engineer attested by Lord Wellington, ii. 500. Is killed at the storming of San Sebastian, iii. 380.
- Forjez, Don Miguel Pereira, his commanding talents, ii. 66.
- Foster, Mr. Leslie, his able defence of ministers respecting the affairs of the Peninsula, ii. 340.
- Foy, General, despatched by Massena to inform Napoleon of the state of affairs in Portugal, ii. 489. Is repulsed in his attempt to storm the British position at Hougoumont, iii. 555.
- Fuentes d'Honor, the French under Massena defeated there by Lord Wellington, ii. 189.
- Franceschi, General, in command of Soult's van, is routed by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Albergasia, ii. 71. Is made prisoner by a Capuchin friar, ii. 112. His melancholy death, *ibid.* Warm interest taken in his fate by Lord Wellington, ii. 381.
- French, the strength of their army in Spain in 1810, ii. 352, 358. Distressed state of their troops at the close of 1810, ii. 471. Their matchless skill in plundering, ii. 510. Their barbarous atrocities in their retreat from Portugal, iii. 81. Severe conditions to which they are obliged to submit by the peace of Paris, iv. 58.
- Freire, General of the Portuguese army, refuses to co-operate with Sir Arthur Wellesley, i. 201. Is massacred by his own troops, i. 382.
- Frere, Mr., appointed by Great Britain envoy in Spain, i. 253. The great pecuniary resources which he took with him to Spain, i. 377. Earnestly urges the advance of Sir John Moore to Madrid, i. 314. His flight to Bajados, i. 315. His urgent remonstrances against the retreat of Sir John Moore, i. 317.
- Fuenterrabia, surprised by a Guerilla party of sixteen men, and fired, iii. 322.

G.

- Gambier, Admiral, commands the fleet sent against Copenhagen, i. 107. Receives the thanks of parliament, i. 117.
- Gamonal, defeat of the Spaniards there by the French, i. 287.
- Gardannes, General, marches into Portugal to reinforce Massena, but, baffled, is compelled to retreat, ii. 507.
- Gawilghur, hill-fort, stormed by the British under General Wellesley, i. 74.
- George III., his death and character, iv. 109.
- George IV., succeeds his father George III., iv. 109. His character, iv. 110. His violent and unpopular persecution of his queen, *ibid.* His death and character, iv. 354.
- Gerona, besieged by the French, ii. 281. Its desperate defence, *ibid.* Its garrison reinforced by Blake, ii. 283. Is compelled to capitulate, ii. 285.
- Girard, Marshal, his division surprised and nearly all captured at Arroyo-Molinos, by the British under Hill, iii. 227.
- Goderich, Lord, Mr. Frederick Robinson, raised to the peerage, iv. 154. Accepts office under Mr. Canning, iv. 170. Moves the thanks of the House of Lords to Lord Combermere, iv. 180. Brings forward a bill for the amendment of the corn-laws, iv. 181. Is appointed premier on the death of Mr. Canning, iv. 196. Resigns, iv. 209.
- Godoy, effects a treaty with France pernicious to Spain, i. 126. Irritates

- Napoleon by boastful statements of the resources of Spain, i. 127. His origin and influence, i. 128. Committed to prison to preserve him from popular fury, i. 135. Is conveyed by Napoleon's orders to Bayonne, i. 142.
- Goulburn, Mr., appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, iv. 210.
- Grant, Mr., moves for the appointment of a regency contingent on the death of William IV., iv. 356. His proposal negatived by the opposition of ministers, iv. 359.
- Graham, General, subsequently Lord Lynedoch, appointed commandant of the British forces at Cadiz, ii. 328. Storms the fort of Matajorda, *ibid.* His distinguished career, iii. 39. Commander of the British troops in Cadiz, he defeats Victor at Barrosa, iii. 47. Receives the thanks of both houses of parliament, iii. 51. Resigns the command, and joins Lord Wellington, *ibid.* His conduct highly applauded by Lord Wellington, iii. 56.
- Graham, Serjeant, by the adjudication of the Duke of Wellington receives the pecuniary reward offered by the Rev. Mr. Norcross to the most distinguished individual of the non-commissioned officers and privates at Waterloo, iv. 61.
- Grattan, Henry, his eloquent advocacy of the claims of the Roman Catholics, iv. 96, 101. His death, iv. 114. Public honours to his memory, *ibid.*
- Greece, erected into an independent kingdom under Otho, son of the king of Bavaria, iv. 345.
- Grenville, Lord, moves an inquiry against ministers, which is negatived, ii. 295. Reprobates the opinion that Portugal could be defended against the French, ii. 336.
- Grey, Lord, his violent attack on Lord Wellington, ii. 289. His uncandid and ungenerous declaration respecting the battle of Talavera, ii. 301. Retracts his former censure of Lord Wellington, and eulogizes him, iii. 148. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, deprecates the renewal of war, iii. 485. His vehement censure of the invasion of Spain by the Bourbons, iv. 138. Opposes Mr. Canning's administration, iv. 188. His strenuous support of the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 317. His anxiety to conciliate William IV. on his accession to the throne, iv. 355.
- Grouchy, Marshal, detached by Napoleon to pursue Blucher after the battle of Ligny, iii. 541. Severely handles the Prussians on the Dyle, iii. 542. Is unjustly accused of want of zeal and activity, iii. 574. Retreats to Laon at the head of his division, iv. 14, 19. Is defeated by Blucher, *ibid.* And by Bulow, *ibid.*
- Guerillas, their rise and constitution, ii. 243. Their principal leaders, ii. 249.

H.

- Harris, General, invades the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, i. 27. Storms Seringapatam, i. 33.
- Hastings, Marquis of, when Lord Moira, commands an expedition to the Low Countries, i. 15. Summary of his military career, ii. 18. Predicts the ruinous consequences that must result to the power of Napoleon from the spirit of resistance in Spain, ii. 294. Declares the defence of Portugal impossible, ii. 338.
- Herries, Mr., appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Goderich's administration, iv. 208. Takes office under the Duke of Wellington, iv. 210.
- Hill, General, passes the lake of Ovar, and takes a position in the rear of Soult's army, ii. 71. In command of the British right at Talavera repels all attacks of the French, ii. 138, 144. Commands the right of the army at Busaco, ii. 415. Made ill by his exertions and sufferings, and obliged to return to England, iii. 9. Surprises the French under Girard at Arroyo-Molinos, and captures nearly the whole, iii. 227. Takes and destroys the bridge of Almaraz, forming the communication between the armies of Marmont and Soult, iii. 251. Repulses the French under Soult with great slaughter at Bayonne, iii. 414. Is made commander-in-chief, iv. 214.

- Holkar, account of his rise, i. 49. Marvellous anecdote respecting him, *ibid*.
 Holland, Lord, accepts office under Mr. Canning, iv. 154. Proposes the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in the House of Lords, iv. 230. His vehement attack on the administration of the Duke of Wellington, iv. 352.
 Holy Alliance, its formation, iv. 98. In vain invites the Prince Regent of Britain to become a member, *ibid*.
 Hope, Sir John, appointed commandant of Lisbon, i. 220. His masterly march to Salamanca, i. 213. Embarks the British army at Corunna, i. 359. Repulses the French under Soult, with great slaughter, at Bayonne, iii. 413. Effects the passage of the Adour below Bayonne, iii. 421. Is wounded and taken prisoner at Bayonne, ii. 136.
 Huskisson, Mr., made president of the board of trade, iv. 153. Dissents from the Duke of Wellington's views respecting the corn-laws, iv. 184. Accepts office under the Duke of Wellington, iv. 210. Resigns, iv. 211. Deplorable accident which caused his death, iv. 363.
 Hutchinson, Lord, causes the French to evacuate Egypt, ii. 30, 31. Great superiority of his convention for this purpose to that of Cintra, ii. 34.

I.

- Imaz, commands the Spanish garrison in Badajoz, iii. 66. Treasonably surrenders to the French, iii. 67.
 Ireland, its distracted state at the accession of George IV. iv. 121. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act there, iv. 122. Violently convulsed by the agitation of the Catholic question, iv. 252.
 Irish soldiers, in the British army, desert in great numbers to the French, ii. 481. Are highly distinguished at Waterloo, iii. 585.
 Jerome Buonaparte, at Waterloo heads the attack on Hougomont, iii. 554.
 Joseph Buonaparte, elected king by the notables of Spain assembled at Bayonne, i. 160. Enters Madrid, *ibid*. Flies from Madrid with a vast booty, i. 176. Joins his forces with those of Victor, ii. 123. Assisted by Victor and Jourdan, attacks the British under Sir Arthur Wellesley at Talavera de la Reyna, ii. 132. Is utterly defeated, ii. 146. Forces the passes of the Sierra Morena, and enters Andalusia, ii. 265. Flies from Madrid to Valencia, iii. 271. Is totally defeated by the Marquis of Wellington at Vittoria, and flies into France with the disorganized remains of his army, iii. 352, 354.
 Jourdan, Marshal, opposes the plan laid down by Victor for attacking the British at Talavera, ii. 137. Retires from the command, ii. 240. In command of the French, is utterly and decisively defeated by the Marquis of Wellington at Vittoria, iii. 346.
 Jovellanos, persecuted by the regency, ii. 274.
 Junôt, at the head of a French army invades Portugal, and occupies Lisbon, i. 132. His rapacity there, i. 185. Defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera, i. 212. Concludes the convention of Cintra, and evacuates Portugal, ii. 219. Account of his career, i. 220, 221. Takes Astorga after an obstinate resistance, ii. 330. Under Massena assists in the invasion of Portugal, ii. 407.
 Juntra, central, its gross misconduct gives rise to a conspiracy for exiling its members to Manilla, ii. 220. Saved by the intervention of the British ambassador, Marquis Wellesley, ii. 221. Abandons Seville and flies to Cadiz, ii. 271. Is dissolved, and succeeded by the regency, ii. 273.

K.

- Kellerman, in command of the French, defeats the Spaniards under Del Parque at Alba de Tormes, ii. 242.
 Kent, Duke of, father of Her present Majesty, his death, iv. 108.

Knox, Mr. George, introduces a bill into the Irish House of Commons for the admission of Roman Catholics into parliament, iv. 97.

Kenyon, Lord, his determined opposition to concessions to the Roman Catholics, iv. 276.

King's College, London, established by voluntary subscription, and patronized by the Crown, iv. 245.

L.

La Bedoyere, Colonel, deserts to Napoleon, iv. 473. Is put to death after the return of Louis XVIII., iv. 37.

Laborde, General, defeated by the British under Sir Arthur Wellesley at Roliça, i. 205.

Lake, General, defeats the Mahrattas at Delhi, i. 66. Created peer, he obtains a pension of £2000 per annum, i. 119.

Launsdowne, Marquis of, his energetic censure of the invasion of Spain by the Bourbons, iv. 133. Takes office in Mr. Canning's administration, iv. 175. His motion in the House of Lords for the relief of the Roman Catholics negatived, iv. 241.

Laon, occupied by a French division under Grouchy in the retreat from Waterloo, iv. 14, 19.

La Pena, the Spanish commander, his dastardly misconduct at the battle of Barrosa, iii. 47.

Lasnes, Marshal, in command of the French, totally defeats the Spaniards under Castanos and Palafox at Tudela, i. 291. Takes the command at the siege of Saragossa, i. 421.

Lefebvre Desnouettes, besieges Saragossa, i. 179. Is obliged to raise the siege with immense loss, i. 183. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Lord Paget, i. 331.

Leith, General, his distinguished services at the battle of Busaco, ii. 418.

Leon, isle of, description of, ii. 275.

Ligny, dreadful defeat there of the Prussians under Blucher by Napoleon, iii. 530.

Lisbon, occupied by the French under Junot, i. 132. Evacuated by the French, and occupied by the British, i. 220.

Liverpool, Earl of, appointed premier, iii. 250. Introduces a bill of pains and penalties against Caroline, queen of George IV., iv. 110. Fails in carrying it, *ibid.* Deprecates the conduct of the Congress of Verona, and the invasion of Spain by the Bourbons, iv. 133. Is struck with apoplexy, and resigns, iv. 147. Moves a vote of thanks to Lord Wellington after the battle of Talavera, ii. 305. Moves that an annuity of £2,000 per annum be settled on him, ii. 315.

Loisson, General, in command of the French, defeated by Marshal Beresford at the Bridge of Amarante, ii. 85. Proposes to Soult to enter into a convention similar to that of Cintra, ii. 86.

London, common-council of the city of, its injudicious and illiberal attack on Lord Wellington, ii. 258. In vain petitions against the grant of £2,000 per annum to Lord Wellington, ii. 326. Votes thanks and a splendid sword to General Graham, iii. 55. Confers numerous and reiterated honours on the Duke of Wellington, iii. 454.

London University, its first stone laid by the Duke of Sussex, iv. 244. Opened, iv. 245.

Londonderry, Lord, his derangement, iv. 126. His suicide, iv. 127. His character, iv. 128. His remains assailed with execrations in their course to the tomb, iv. 129. Had early contemplated the recognition of the New States of America, iv. 176.

Longford, Lord, brother-in-law to the Duke of Wellington, violently opposes his measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 277.

- Louis XVIII. is placed by the allies on the throne of France, iii. 435. On the return of Napoleon flies to Lille, iii. 472. Re-enters France under the protection of the British army, iv. 15. Re-enters Paris, iv. 31. Causes Labedoyere and Ney to be put to death, iv. 37, 42. Is frustrated in a similar intention respecting Lavalette, by his escape, iv. 43. His arrogant language, announcing that he would send an army to effect a counter-revolution in Spain, iv. 132.
- Lugo, check received there by the French from the British under Sir John Moore, i. 348.
- Lyndhurst, Lord, made Chancellor, iv. 153. Supports the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 312.

M.

- Macdonell, Sir James, adjudged by the Duke of Wellington the bravest man in the British army, iii. 580. Shares this glorious distinction with serjeant-major Fraser, *ibid.*
- Macdonald, Marshal, in vain attempts to preserve Lyons from Napoleon, iii. 474.
- Mackenzie, General, his gallant and important services at Salinas, ii. 133. At Talavera, ii. 142. Falls at Talavera, ii. 147. Account of his career, *ibid.*
- Madrid, insurrection there against the French, i. 148. Evacuated by Joseph Buonaparte, i. 176. Surrenders to Napoleon, i. 300. Is a second time evacuated by Joseph Buonaparte, iii. 371. Great quantity of military stores found there, iii. 273. Enthusiastic reception of the British there, iii. 275. Evacuated by the British, iii. 294. Occupied by Joseph Buonaparte, iii. 294. And immediately evacuated by him, iii. 295.
- Mahrattas, account of the rise of their power, i. 46.
- Maitland, General, lands at Alicante in command of the British expedition from Sicily, iii. 281. His gallant and effective services at Quatre Bras, iii. 535. His charge decides the success of the British at Waterloo, iii. 583.
- Maida, battle of, one of the most glorious and useful ever gained by the British, ii. 23.
- Malaga, stormed by the French under Sebastiani, ii. 268.
- Malavelly, Tippoo Sultaun defeated there by General Floyd, i. 29.
- Maria, legitimate queen of Portugal, excluded from the throne by the usurper Don Miguel, iv. 344.
- Marmont, Marshal, supersedes Massena in the command of the French army, iii. 192. With a greatly superior force allows Wellington to escape him, iii. 223. Attacks Lord Wellington at Salamanca, and is severely wounded, and defeated with immense loss, iii. 263.
- Marchand, General, succeeds Ney as commander of a division of the French army, ii. 181. Is defeated at Tamanes by the Spaniards under the Duke del Parque, ii. 23.
- Massena, appointed by Napoleon to the command of the army of Portugal, ii. 333. Pledges himself to expel the British in six months, ii. 345. Invests Almeida, ii. 393. His dilatory conduct, ii. 406. Is defeated by Wellington at Busaco with great slaughter, ii. 422. Occupies Coimbra, ii. 434. Is baffled by Wellington, and remains inactive before the lines of Torres Vedras, ii. 456. His heavy losses in the advance to Torres Vedras, ii. 465. Baffled by Wellington, he sends to Napoleon for aid, ii. 489. Breaks up his position before Torres Vedras, and precipitately retreats to Santarem, ii. 492. His rapid and skilful, but ruinous retreat from Portugal, iii. 80, 81. His atrocious barbarity, iii. 92, 95. Is obliged to fly precipitately from Guarda, iii. 113. Totally evacuates Portugal, iii. 118. Recruits his army, and returns to relieve Almeida, iii. 181. Is defeated by Lord Wellington at Fuentes d'Honor, iii. 189. Is deprived of the command by Napoleon, and succeeded by Marmont, ii. 192.
- Mayne, Colonel, his gallant defence of the bridge of Alcantara, ii. 93.

- Melbourne, Lord, warmly supports measures for the relief of Roman Catholics, iv. 283.
- Methodism, becomes prevalent in the British army in Portugal, iii. 18.
- Uncasiness of Lord Wellington from the circumstance, iii. 19.
- Miguel, Don, usurps the throne of Portugal to the exclusion of Maria, the legitimate sovereign, iv. 344.
- Miquets, description of that class of men, ii. 250.
- Milton, Lord, opposes the vote of thanks to Lord Wellington, ii. 207.
- Mina, Francisco Espoz y, his origin, character, and services as chief of Guerillas, ii. 246. His signal success, ii. 247.
- Moncey, Marshal, repulsed in an attempt to storm Valencia, i. 178.
- Mont St. Jean, see Waterloo.
- Moore, Sir John, his approval of Sir Arthur Wellesley's operations in Portugal, i. 271. His appointment to the command of the army of the Peninsula, *ibid.* Marches from Lisbon into Spain, i. 276. His gloomy forebodings as to the issue of the campaign, i. 278. Advances to Salamanca, i. 306. His indignation at the injudicious and unjustifiable conduct of Mr. Frere, i. 319. Commences his retreat to Corunna, i. 327. Its singularly disastrous character, i. 334. The French, checked at Lugo, decline battle there, i. 348. Gives battle at Corunna to the French under Soult, i. 354. Falls in the moment of victory, i. 356. His memory honoured by Soult with a monument, i. 361.
- Mornington, Richard Colley Wellesley, first baron of, ancestor of the Duke of Wellington, i. 6.
- Mornington, Garret Wellesley, first earl of, his surprising musical powers, i. 7, 8. Richard Colley Wellesley, second earl of, subsequently, Marquis Wellesley, distinguished at Eton, i. 9.
- Morla, treacherously advises the Spaniards to violate the capitulation of Baylen, i. 175. Is mainly instrumental in the surrender of Madrid to Napoleon, i. 300. Endeavours to entice Sir John Moore to advance to Madrid, i. 316.
- Mortier, Marshal, advances from Arragon and joins Soult with fifteen thousand men, ii. 111. Forms a junction with Soult and Ney at Salamanca, ii. 155. Seizes the bridge of Almaraz, ii. 165. Forces the pass of Puerto del Rey and enters Andalusia, ii. 265.
- Murat, occupies Madrid at the head of the French army, i. 137. His cruelty to the citizens, i. 150. Joins Napoleon on his return from Elba, and, as king of Naples makes war on the allies, iii. 501.
- Murray, Sir John, in command of the Anglo-Sicilian army forms the siege of Tarragona, and disgracefully abandons it, iii. 361. Is censured by court-martial for incapacity, iii. 362.
- Murray, Major-General, advances from Avintas on the rear of Soult's army, and compels him to retreat from Oporto, ii. 77. Resigns his command, and returns to England, ii. 97.
- Mysore, kingdom of, its extent and resources under Tippoo Suldaun, i. 36. Restored partially to its lawful rajah, i. 40.

N.

- Napoleon Buonaparte, excites Tippoo Suldaun to war with Britain, i. 30. His systematic hostility to British commerce, i. 107. Determines to seize the fleet of Denmark, a neutral power, i. 107. View of his gigantic power, i. 124. His intrigues for seizing Spain, i. 126, 127. Invades Spain and Portugal, i. 130, 133. Compels the royal family to resign the sovereignty of Spain, i. 144. Collects at Bayonne an assembly of *Notables* of Spain, who elect Joseph Buonaparte king, i. 160. Amount of his army in Spain at the commencement of the war, i. 164. Consternation at receiving the intelligence of the defeat at Baylen, i. 175. His vast preparations for crushing resistance in Spain, i. 262. His masterly commencement of operations, i. 283. Occupies Madrid, i. 300. Abolishes the Inquisition, i. 302. His immense military force

- at this time in Spain, i. 303. Intends to govern Spain by viceroys, i. 304. Directs the march of the French armies in Spain on Benevente, to cut off the retreat of the British, i. 327. In person pursues Sir John Moore, i. 328. Advances with eighty thousand men to Astorga, i. 336. Returns to France, i. 337. Singular terms on which he proposes peace to the British government, iii. 245. Negotiates with Ferdinand for his restoration to the throne of Spain, iii. 404. Agrees to acknowledge Ferdinand king of Spain, iii. 406. Releases Ferdinand, and sends him into Spain, iii. 440. Abdicates the sovereignty of France, and is succeeded by Louis XVIII., iii. 435. Returns from Elba, and is declared an outlaw by the Congress of Vienna, iii. 466, 482. Is welcomed by the garrison of Grenoble in consequence of the machinations of Labedoyère, iii. 473. Is welcomed by the army, and enters Paris in triumph, iii. 479. Makes in vain overtures to the allies for peace, iii. 484. Holds the solemn assembly of the Champ de Mai, and grants a free constitution to France, iii. 497. Takes the command of the army in the north of France, iii. 515. Strength of the army under his own command, iii. 517. His troops furiously devastate and plunder their own countrymen, *ibid.* Attacks the Prussians, and drives them over the Sambre, iii. 520. Defeats them with immense slaughter at Ligny, iii. 530. Singular failure of his faculties there, *ibid.* Pursues the British army to Waterloo, and encamps at La belle Alliance, iii. 545. Attacks them with superior forces, iii. 554. His confident anticipation of victory, iii. 563. His backwardness in leading his troops, iii. 578. Is utterly defeated, and flies precipitately, iii. 587. Abdicates in favour of his son under the title of Napoleon II., iv. 32. Flies to Rochefort, in hopes to escape to America, iv. 43. Surrenders to Captain Maitland, commanding the British ship Bellerophon, *ibid.* Writes to the Prince Regent of Britain demanding an asylum, *ibid.* Is confined at St. Helena, iv. 44. His death there, *ibid.* Removal of his ashes to Paris, *ibid.*
- Navarino, battle of, allusion to, in the king's speech, iv. 218.
- Newcastle, Duke of, opprobrious language used by him towards Mr. Canning, iv. 194. His earnest expostulation with the Duke of Wellington on his advocacy of Catholic claims, iv. 270.
- Ney, Marshal, refuses to act under the command of Soult, ii. 126. Advancing on Vigo, is defeated in attempting to force the bridge of St. Payo, ii. 162. Resigns his command in Spain, and returns to France, ii. 181. Under the command of Massena, assists in the invasion of Portugal, ii. 407. Commands at Busaco, under Massena, ii. 214. Admirably seconds Massena in his retreat from Portugal, iii. 87. His great military skill attested by Picton, iii. 98. Deprived of his command by Massena, for insubordination, iii. 112. Is commissioned by Louis XVIII. to oppose Napoleon on his return from Elba, and promises to bring him to Paris in an iron cage, iii. 477. Issues a proclamation acknowledging Napoleon, iii. 478. Attacks the British army under Wellington, at Quatre-Bras, and is repulsed, after a desperate engagement, iii. 536. At Waterloo, commands in the attack on Hougomont, iii. 554. And the final attack, iii. 578. Dissipates the delusions attempted by the Buonapartists, and explains the hopeless state of the army, iv. 33. In violation of the convention of Paris, is shot by order of the government of Louis XVIII. iv. 42.
- Nivelle, its passage forced by Lord Wellington, who defeats Soult, iii. 399.
- Norcross, Rev. Mr. gives a pecuniary reward to serjeant Graham, adjudged by the Duke of Wellington the most distinguished of the non-commissioned officers and privates at Waterloo, iv. 61.

O.

- Ocana, defeat of the Spaniards there under Arcizaga by Soult, ii. 241.
- O'Connell, Mr., returned member of parliament for the county of Clare, iv. 253. Declares his determination to take his seat, although a Roman Catholic,

- ibid.* Is prevented from attempting this by a prorogation of parliament, *ibid.* His very strong language on political topics, iv. 365.
- O'Donnell, in command of a Spanish division relieves Gerona, and makes a successful retreat, ii. 284.
- O'Donju, General, his infamous cowardice at Talavera, ii. 134.
- Oporto, assaulted by Soult, i. 384. Defended by the inhabitants under the command of the bishop, *ibid.* Stormed by the French, who massacre above ten thousand of the inhabitants, i. 388. Occupied by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who drives out the French, ii. 80.
- Orange, Prince of, resigns the command of the army of the Netherlands to the Duke of Wellington, iii. 504. His injudicious order at Quatre Bras causes extensive loss to the British forces, iii. 534. His bravery at Waterloo, iii. 579.
- Orleans, Duke of, at the invitation of the Regency assumes a command in Spain, iii. 26. Is forced by the cortes to leave the realm, iii. 26.
- Orthez, the French under Soult defeated there with great slaughter by Lord Wellington, iii. 423.
- Otho, son of the king of Bavaria, elected king of Greece, iv. 446.
- Oudet, Jacques Joseph, founder of the Society of Philadelphes, ii. 57. Assassinated by order of Napoleon, *ibid.*

P.

- Paget, Lord, in command of the British cavalry, defeats that of the French at Mayorga, i. 325. Defeats the French cavalry at Benevente, and takes Lefebvre Desnouettes, their commander, prisoner, i. 332. (Earl of Uxbridge) covers the retreat of the British army from Quatre-Bras, and repulses the French cavalry at Genappe, iii. 544. Commands the British cavalry at Waterloo, iii. 549. His gallant and effective services there, iii. 586, 587. Made master-general of the ordnance, iv. 153. (Anglesey, Marquis of,) made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iv. 215. His great popularity there, iv. 260. Recommends to the Roman Catholic primate increased activity in pressing the claims of their body, iv. 261. Is, in consequence, removed from the dignity of lord-lieutenant, iv. 262. Strongly advocates in the house of lords the propriety of relief to the Roman Catholics, iv. 268. Disinterestedness of his motives, iv. 270. His earnest and eloquent speech in the house of lords, in support of the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 313. He triumphantly, in the house of lords, vindicates his conduct as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iv. 338.
- Palafox, Don Joseph, escapes from Bayonne, i. 179. Is defeated by the French, i. 178. His heroic and successful defence of Saragossa, i. 178, 183. His culpable excesses, i. 249. His misconduct at the battle of Tudela, i. 291. His energetic preparation for the defence of Saragossa, i. 416. His obstinate defence, i. 422. Is obliged to surrender, and sent a prisoner into France, *ibid.*
- Palmerston, Lord, made secretary at war, iv. 153.
- Pamplona, fortress of, surrendered by the French to the British, iii. 386.
- Panic, commercial, in 1825, description of it, iv. 143. Its causes, iv. 144.
- Paris, invested by the allies under Wellington and Blücher, iv. 20, 22. Evacuated by the French troops, under Davoust, iv. 33. Occupied by those of the allies under the Duke of Wellington and Blücher, iv. 33.
- Parsons, Sir Lawrence, in the Irish house of commons, accuses Lord Westmoreland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, of illegally sending troops out of the kingdom, iv. 98.
- Paul, Mr., his virulent attacks on the Marquis of Wellesley, i. 98. His suicide, *ibid.*
- Peel, Mr., vindicates the conduct of ministers and of Lord Wellington. His eloquent and triumphant defence of Lord Wellington, iii. 132. Appointed secretary of state for the home department, iv. 210. Determining to support

- measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics, resigns the representation of the university of Oxford, iv. 472. Introduces a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics into the house of commons, iv. 285. It is carried by a great majority, iv. 287. His extensive reform of the criminal code, iv. 354.
- Perceval, Rt. Hon. Spencer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, his defence of ministers in managing the expedition to Portugal, ii. 24. His assassination, *ibid.* Had vindicated the conduct of lord Wellington, ii. 300. And proposed a vote of thanks to him in the house of commons, ii. 307. And an annuity of £2,000 per annum, ii. 316.
- Parque, Duke Del, in command of the Spaniards, defeats the French under Marchand, at Tamanes, ii. 235. Is defeated at Alba de Tormes, by Kellerman, ii. 242.
- Peronne (La Pucelle) surrenders to the Duke of Wellington, iv. 17.
- Philadelphes, secret society of, founded by Oudet, ii. 57. Conspire to depose Napoleon, ii. 58.
- Picton, General, neglects to support General Craufurd in checking the French at the bridge of Coa, ii. 362. Has the post of honour at Busaco, ii. 416. Drives back the French, under General Merle, with immense slaughter, ii. 420. His great skill and bravery in pursuing Massena, iii. 98. Defeats the French under Ney, at Fons d'Aronce, iii. 99. Commands the British left at Waterloo, iii. 549. His extraordinary intrepidity, iii. 558. Falls gloriously in repelling the French, iii. 559. His memory is honoured by a public monument, iv. 61.
- Placencia, capital of Estremadura, description of, ii. 115. Junction near it of the British army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, with the Spanish under Cuesta, *ibid.*
- Plunkett, W. C. the organ of the Irish Roman Catholics, in parliament, iv. 101. Appointed attorney-general for Ireland, iv. 121.
- Ponsonby, Mr. his acrimonious censure of Lord Wellington, ii. 297. His injudicious and illiberal estimate of his character, ii. 314.
- Ponsonby, General Sir William, falls gloriously at Waterloo, iii. 561. Public monument to his memory, iv. 61.
- Portland, Duke of, first lord of the treasury, his letter to Sir Arthur Wellesley, announcing that he had been created viscount, ii. 212.
- Portugal, project for its dismemberment, by Napoleon, i. 129. Invaded by Junot, i. 130. The prince regent of, sails to Brazil, i. 132. Its people apply to Britain for succour, i. 157. Evacuated by the French according to the convention of Cintra, i. 219. Its trifling military force at the commencement of Sir Arthur Wellesley's operations, ii. 45. Invaded by the French, under Soult, i. 371. Totally evacuated by the French, iii. 118. Its throne usurped by Don Miguel, to the exclusion of Maria, the legitimate sovereign, iv. 344.
- Portuguese, their simultaneous and energetic revolt against the French, i. 187. Their sanguinary fury at Oporto, i. 188. Demand and receive aid from Britain, i. 191. Ill support the British army, i. 201. Their determined opposition to the invasion of the French under Soult, i. 379, 384. Their ferocious and blood-thirsty fury, i. 383. Their treacherous and sanguinary conduct towards their British allies, i. 401. Offer to place their army under the command of a British officer, *ibid.* Place it under the command of field-marshal Beresford, i. 402. Their long, close, and amicable connexion with England, ii. 48. Their momentary irritation against the British, ii. 49. Their enthusiastic reception of Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 51. Their just confidence and cordial treatment of him, ii. 260. Become tired of the war, iii. 72, 76. Acquire high military distinction, iii. 123. Relieved by a grant of £100,000 by the British parliament, iii. 141. To which private subscriptions add £200,000, iii. 143. Refuse to assist the Congress of Vienna against Napoleon, iii. 509.
- Prince of Wales, George, becomes regent, iii. 16. Retains his father's ministers and principles of government, iii. 17. Declares his determination to

prosecute the war in the Peninsula, iii. 246. On the return of Napoleon, sends a message to parliament demanding means of crushing him, iii. 485. Writes to Wellington, approving of his conduct at Waterloo, and subsequently, iv. 24. Succeeds his father under the name of George IV. iv. 109. Prussians, driven over the Sambre by Napoleon, iii. 520. Refused quarter by the French, iii. 526. Receive a dreadful defeat at Ligny, from Napoleon, iii. 528. Their obstinate engagement with the French under Grouchy, at Wavre, ii. 574. Their valour and activity in support of the British, at Waterloo, and in pursuit of the French, iii. 586, 587. Unfairly arrogate to themselves the glory of the victory at Waterloo, iv. 23. Meanly appropriate to themselves the whole of the plunder at Waterloo, iv. 23. Are obliged to restore the captured artillery to the British, iv. 9.

Q.

Quatre-Bras, British army posted there, iii. 526. Is attacked by the French, under Ney, who is repulsed after a severe and sanguinary engagement, iii. 536.

R.

Railway, that of Manchester and Liverpool, splendid ceremony at its opening, iv. 363. Deplorable death of Mr. Huskisson on that occasion, *ibid.*

Reding, his bravery and conduct at Baylen, i. 172. Is defeated and slain in Catalonia, i. 439.

Reform in parliament, universal and earnest demand for it, iv. 367.

Regency of Spain, council of, succeeds the Junta of Seville in the government, ii. 273. Invites the Duke of Orleans to assume a command in Spain, iii. 25. Is dissolved by the Cortes, and succeeded by another regency, iii. 26. Is favoured by Lord Wellington in its struggles against the Cortes, iii. 27.

Regnier, in command of the French, forms a junction with Mortier near Merida, ii. 257. Escapes the British commanded by Hill, and forms a junction with Massena, ii. 370. Invades Portugal, ii. 406. Commands at Busaco under Massena, ii. 414. In command of the French, receives a severe defeat from the British under Beckwith, at Sabugal, iii. 117.

Richmond, Duke of, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, i. 105.

Robinson, Mr. his warm eulogy on Lord Wellington, ii. 218.

Roliça, French army defeated there by the British under General Sir Arthur Wellesley, i. 205.

Romana, Marquis of, effects the escape of the Spanish troops, under his command from Denmark, i. 185. Lands with his force at Santander, and joins Blake, i. 265. His troops destroyed in the defeat at Espinosa, i. 285. Joins his wretched and disorganized followers with the British at Astorga, i. 336. Favourably regarded by Wellington, ii. 219. His death, ii. 517. Testimony to his worth by Wellington, *ibid.*

Roncesvalles, the French, under Soult, defeated there by the British under Lord Wellington, iii. 370.

Rosas, town of, besieged by the French, i. 428. Succoured by Lord Cochrane, i. 431. Obligated to surrender, i. 432.

Russia, its fleet seized by Britain in the Tagus, i. 219. Its troops overrun Turkey, with little resistance, iv. 346.

S.

St. Cyr, Gouvion de, appointed to the command of the French army, in Catalonia, i. 426.

Salamanca, occupied by Lord Wellington, iii. 255. The French, under Mar-mont, totally defeated there by Lord Wellington, iii. 263.

Sanchez, Julian, the Guerilla chief, his great successes against the French,

- under Marchand, ii. 251. Harasses the French at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, ii. 346. Cuts his way through their army, and makes his escape, ii. 348.
- San Sebastian, is assaulted by Lord Wellington, who is repulsed, iii. 365. Is stormed after a desperate resistance, iii. 380.
- Santarem, description of that strong position, ii. 497, 498. Is occupied by Massena after his retreat from Torres Vedras, ii. 498. Had long before been noticed by Lord Wellington, ii. 499.
- Santocildes, his resolute and able defence of Astorga against the French, ii. 330. Is obliged to surrender, and is honourably treated by Junot, ii. 331.
- Saragossa, its heroic and successful defence, i. 178, 183. Invested a second time by the French under marshal Moncey, i. 417. Is obstinately defended by Pulafox, ii. 421. Is nearly totally destroyed, and its surviving defenders obliged to surrender, i. 422.
- Scindiah, the Mahratta chief, account of his rise, i. 47. Owed his greatness to his French ministers, De Boigne and Person, i. 49. Defeated by the British, under General Wellesley, at Assaye, i. 65. And at Argaum, i. 74. Cedes an extensive territory to the East India company, and concludes a treaty with it, i. 75.
- Sebastiani, General, in command of the French, out-manceuvres Venegas, and makes a junction with Victor, ii. 123. Defeats Areizaga, and takes Jaen, ii. 266. Defeats the Spaniards at Almaden, ii. 269. Storms Malaga, ii. 270.
- Seedascer, Tippoo Sultaun defeated there by General Stuart, i. 29.
- Seringapatam, description of it, i. 30. Invested by General Harris, i. 31. Stormed by General Harris, i. 33.
- Seville, pusillanimously surrendered by the Spaniards to the French, ii. 269. Evacuated by Soult, is saved from plunder by the British, iii. 280.
- Seville, Junta of, takes the lead in resisting Napoleon, i. 155. Its subsequent infamous conduct, i. 242.
- Shaw, a private in the life-guards, his heroic bravery at Waterloo, iii. 586. Falls gloriously fighting, iii. 587.
- Silveira, in command of the Portuguese, defeated by Soult at the bridge of Amarante, ii. 63. Defeats the French at Senabria, ii. 384. Defeats Drouot, in command of the French, ii. 508. Is defeated at Francosa, *ibid*.
- Solano, Marquis of, is assassinated at Seville, i. 152.
- Somosierra, pass of, occupied by the Spanish troops for the defence of Madrid, i. 294. Cleared by a charge of Polish lancers, and occupied by the French, i. 295.
- Souham, in command of the French, marches against the Marquis of Wellington, iii. 289. Compels the Marquis of Wellington to retreat, iii. 293.
- Soult, Marshal, defeats the Spaniards under the Conde de Belvedere, at Gumond, i. 287. Despatched by Napoleon to pursue Sir John Moore, i. 327. Defeated by him at Corunna, i. 361. Honours his memory by a monument, *ibid*. Occupies Corunna, i. 164. And Ferrol, i. 365. Invades Portugal, i. 371. Appointed by Napoleon governor-general of Portugal, i. 378. Storms Oporto with dreadful carnage, i. 388. Driven out of Oporto by Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 78. His precipitate ruinous retreat into Spain, ii. 91, 92. He forms a junction with Ney at Zamora, ii. 111. Defeats the Spaniards under Areizaga, at Ocana, and totally destroys their army, ii. 241. Forces the passes of the Sierra Morena, and enters Andalusia, ii. 265. Takes Badajos, iii. 66. His splendid successes, iii. 69. Is defeated at Albuera by the British under Beresford, iii. 209. Raises the siege of Cadiz in consequence of the defeat at Salamanca, iii. 279. Account of his career, iii. 366. Is appointed by Napoleon commander-in-chief of the French army in Spain, *ibid*. Re-enters Spain at the head of a great French army, iii. 370. Is repeatedly defeated by Lord Wellington, at Roncesvalles and neighbouring places, and obliged to retreat into France, iii. 370, 373. Dislodged, with great loss, by Wellington, from the banks of the Nivelle, iii. 399. Attacks the British at Bayonne, and is defeated with great slaughter,

- iii. 413. Evacuates his entrenched camp at Bayonne, iii. 420. Is defeated with great slaughter by Lord Wellington at Orthez, iii. 423. And at Toulouse, iii. 433. Suspends hostilities by a convention with Lord Wellington, iii. 436. Supports Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo, iii. 563, 593.
- Souza, principal, his misconduct strongly censured by Lord Wellington, ii. 439, 440. He and his party intrigue to remove Lord Wellington, and have the Duke of Brunswick appointed in his stead. ii. 441. Allows the French to obtain possession of boats, and cross the Tagus, ii. 458.
- Spain, invaded by the French, i. 434. By Napoleon in person, i. 282. Is saved from subjugation by the imbecility of Joseph, who suspends the operations of Soult. 183. Is finally evacuated by the French, iii. 438. Invaded by the army of Louis XVIII. which restores Ferdinand to absolute power, iv. 139.
- Spaniards, their simultaneous and furious insurrection against the French, i. 151. Their sanguinary cruelty, i. 152, 153. Sieze the French fleet at Cadiz, i. 154. Apply to Britain for succour, i. 155. Violate the capitulation at Baylen, and treat the French prisoners with murderous cruelty, i. 175. Their arrogant, improvident, and infatuated conduct before they were joined by British troops, i. 241, 242, 247. Their incapacity and cowardice when invaded by Napoleon, i. 277. Their disgraceful cowardice at Somosierra, i. 495. Their apathy and signal treachery towards their English allies, i. 313, 369. Their unfair and ungrateful conduct to their British allies, i. 122. Their disgraceful cowardice at the battle of Talavera, ii. 135, 150. Their cruelty and rapacity after the battle, ii. 153, 154. Their treachery and ingratitude towards the British, ii. 178, 196. Their disgraceful cowardice, as stated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 195, 198. Exhibit admirable bravery in defeating the French on the banks of the Bidassoa, iii. 382. Their troops sent out of France by Lord Wellington for their misconduct, iii. 399. Their ingratitude and hatred towards the British, iii. 400.
- Stewart, General Charles, subsequently Marquis of Londondery, adjutant-general to the British army, in Portugal, ii. 67. Distinguished at the action at Carvalho, ii. 73.
- Stuart, Mr. Charles, proposed to summon the cortez, or general council of Spain, i. 245.
- Suchet, in command of the French, defeats the Spaniards under Blake, at Belchite, ii. 279. Defeated by the Anglo-Sicilian army, at Castalla, iii. 324. Defeats Lord William Bentinck, at Ordal, iii. 363. Evacuates Spain, iii. 433.
- Sussex, Duke of, supports measures for the relief of Roman Catholics, iv. 281, 331.

T.

- Talavera de la Reyna, signal defeat there of the French under Joseph Buonaparte by the British under Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 157.
- Talleyrand, Monsieur de, intrigues to deprive Murat of the kingdom of Naples, iii. 501. Tries to dissuade Louis XVIII. from placing himself under the protection of the British army, iv. 14. Resumes the management of the government on the restoration of Louis XVIII., iv. 33.
- Tamanes, the French under the command of Marchand, defeated there by the Spaniards under the Duke del Parque, ii. 235.
- Tarleton, General, attacks ministers and Sir Arthur Wellesley in the House of Commons i. 9. His reiterated and virulent attacks on Lord Wellington, ii. 11, 300, 303, 310.
- Tilly, Conde de, his infamous character and conduct described, ii. 263.
- Tippoo Sultaun, his furious hatred of the British, i. 24. Applies to the French for assistance, i. 25. Defeated at Malavelly by General Flood, i. 29. Defeated at Sedaseer by General Stuart, *ibid.* Massacres his prisoners, i. 32. His capital is stormed and himself slain, i. 33.

- Torreno, Conde de, vindicates Lord Wellington for declining to relieve Ciudad Rodrigo, ii. 367.
- Torres Vedras, the capabilities of its ground examined and ascertained by Lord Wellington, ii. 229. Description of the celebrated lines there, ii. 447. Prodigious strength of the defence, ii. 454, 456.
- Toulouse, the French under Soult defeated there by Lord Wellington, iii. 433. Occupied by the British army, iii. 434.
- Trant, General, cuts off Massena's communication with Almeida, ii. 436. Occupies Coimbra and interrupts the communications of Massena, ii. 438. His assiduous humanity to the captured French, ii. *ibid.* Appointed governor of Oporto, ii. 81.

U.

- Ucles, frightful atrocities perpetrated there by the French against the Spaniards, i. 414.
- Uxbridge, Lord, see Paget.

V.

- Venegas, defeated with the Spaniards under his command, at Aranjuez by Sebastiani, ii. 185.
- Victor, in command of the French, defeats the Spaniards under Blake at Espinosa, i. 284. Defeats the Spaniards under Cuesta with dreadful slaughter at Medellin, i. 409. Advances into Portugal and drives the Portuguese from the bridge of Alcantara, ii. 93. Is saved from destruction by the incapacity and backwardness of Cuesta, ii. 107, 110. His masterly arrangements before the battle of Talavera, ii. 118. Retreats from Talavera and is joined by Sebastiani, ii. 123. Obstinate persisting in his attack on the British at Talavera is defeated with great slaughter, ii. 146. Drives the Spanish army into the Sierra Morena, ii. 236. Retreats from Portugal into Spain, ii. 109. Is joined by Joseph Buonaparte, and assembles an army of fifty thousand men at Torrijos, ii. 124. His creditable treatment of the wounded British, ii. 173. Causes Talavera to be sacked by his troops, *ibid.* Succeeding Soult in the siege of Cadiz, he is defeated at Barrosa by the British under Graham, iii. 47. Is saved from destruction by the cowardice of the Spaniards, iii. 50.
- Vimiera, defeat there of the French under Junot by the British under Sir Arthur Wellesley, i. 211.
- Vittoria, dreadful battle there, where the French under Marshal Jourdan were utterly and decisively defeated by the Marquis of Wellington, iii. 345.
- Valencia, insurrection there against the French, i. 152. Massacre of the French residents, *ibid.* Heroic and successful defence of the city against the French under Marshal Moncey, i. 177, 178. Surrendered by Blake together with his whole army to Suchet, iii. 235.

W.

- Waterloo, description of the field of battle there, iii. 547. Amount of the forces engaged there, iii. 554. Subscription for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell there, iv. 60.
- Waters, Colonel, his gallant and adventurous escape from the French, iii. 160.
- Wellesley, Garret, bequeaths his extensive estates to Richard Colley, the ancestor to the Duke of Wellington, on condition of his assumption of the arms and name of Wellesley, i. 5.
- Wellesley, Marquis, originally Earl of Mornington, created Baron Wellesley, and made Governor-General of India, i. 9. His brilliant and important services in that dignity, *ibid.* Proceeds to Spain as ambassador, i. 10. Is

- appointed secretary for foreign affairs, *ibid.* Appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, *ibid.* Commences warlike operations against Tippo Sultaun, i. 27. Achieves the conquest of the Mysore, i. 30. Orders the invasion of the Mahratta territory, i. 53. Greatly beneficial results from his administration as governor-general, i. 104. Virulent charges against him by Mr. Paull, i. 98. His triumphant vindication by General Wellesley, i. 102. Is honoured by the House of Commons with a vote of thanks, i. 105. Arrives at Cadiz on a special mission from the British Government, ii. 175. Is warned by Sir Arthur Wellesley of the duplicity of the Spaniards, ii. 177. Proceeds to Seville, ii. 176. Returns to England, ii. 231. His luminous and triumphant defence of Lord Wellington's conduct, ii. 307. Masterly reasoning to induce ministers to continue the war in the Peninsula, iii. 71. Is calumniated by the Portuguese Government, iii. 77. Resigns the situation of foreign secretary of state, and is succeeded by Lord Castlereagh, iii. 245. Is commissioned by the Prince-Regent to form a ministry, but fails in doing so, iii. 250. Is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iv. 119. Is outrageously insulted at the theatre, *ibid.* At a public dinner proposes the health of the Duke of Wellington, which is ill received, and wherefore, iv. 121.
- Wellesley, Henry, subsequently Lord Cowley, proceeds to Cadiz as plenipotentiary from the British government, ii. 328.
- Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of, his descent, i. 1, 2. His birth, i. 7. Removed from Eton after a brief residence there, i. 10. Studies at the military college of Angiers, i. 11. Receives his first commission, i. 12. List of his steps of elevation, i. 14. When Colonel Wellesley, accompanies Lord Moira in his expedition to the Low Countries, i. 15. First distinguishes himself in action, i. 16. Covers General Dundee's retreat, i. 19. Proceeds to India, i. 21. Is distinguished at the battle of Malavelly, i. 25. And at the taking of Seringapatam, i. 31. His judicious conduct as commandant of Seringapatam, i. 41. Defeats at Conaghull the freebooter Dhoondiah Waugh who is slain there, i. 44. Appointed to the command of the army of the Mysore, i. 46. Marches against Holkar and Scindiah, i. 53. Enters Poonah and restores the Peishwah, i. 54. Takes Ahmednagar, i. 59. Gives Scindiah a severe defeat at Assaye, i. 65. His just and pointed answer to a Mahratta intriguer, i. 69. Defeats Scindiah at Argaum, i. 70. Storms the hill-fort of Gawilghur, i. 74. Concludes a treaty with the rajah of Berar, i. 75. His enforcement of strict discipline, i. 80. Presented with a service of plate by the officers who served under him, i. 87. And with a splendid sword by the British of Calcutta, i. 81. Grateful and affectionate address to him by the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, i. 92. Resigns his Indian command, and returns to Europe, i. 95. Proceeds to Hanover with the expedition commanded by Lord Cathcart, i. 96. His persevering and earnest devotion to the service of his sovereign and the military profession, i. 97. His marriage, i. 97. Defends the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, i. 99. Appointed chief secretary of state for Ireland, i. 105. His useful services in that capacity, i. 106. Has a command in the expedition to Copenhagen, i. 108. Defeats the Danes at Kioge, i. 112. Draws up the terms of capitulation, i. 115. Receives the thanks of parliament, i. 118. His exertions for the welfare of the Established Church in Ireland, i. 120. Destined to command an expedition to South America, i. 192. Appointed to the command of the expedition sent from Cork to the Peninsula, i. 195. Lands in Portugal with twelve thousand men, i. 197. Prevents the junction of the armies of Laborde and Loison, i. 202. Defeats the French under General Laborde at Roliça, i. 205. And under Junot at Vimiera, i. 211. Is superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple, i. 199, 216. Retires from Portugal, i. 227. Vindicates the expediency of the Convention of Cintra, i. 229. His conduct submitted to a comt of inquiry and approved of, i. 239. Resumes his duty as secretary of state for Ireland, i. 241. Receives the thanks of the House of Commons for his victory at Vimiera, i. 445. Bears testimony to the high merits of the Duke of York in disciplining the army, i. 449. Defends in the House of Commons the conduct of ministers

and his own, ii. 11. His plan for compelling the surrender of the French in Portugal, ii. 14. Rejected by Sir Harry Burrard, *ibid.* His energetic and valuable services as secretary for Ireland, ii. 40. Re-appointed to the command in Portugal, ii. 41. Gives ministers a plan for the defence of Portugal, ii. 43. In danger of shipwreck proceeding to Spain, ii. 46. Appointed marshal-general of the Portuguese army, ii. 51. Concentrates his forces at Coimbra, ii. 66. Striking resemblance in certain points of character to that of Nelson, ii. 68. Disperses the French at Grijó, ii. 73. Crosses the Douro and drives Soult out of Oporto, ii. 78. His humane conduct to the French left in the hospitals, ii. 82. Drives the French out of Portugal deprived of all their baggage and artillery, ii. 92. Visits the camp of Cuesta, ii. 113. His admirable disposition of the allied troops at Talavera de la Reyna, ii. 132. Signally defeats the greatly more numerous army of the French under Joseph Buonaparte, ii. 146. Is wounded there, ii. 149. Evades the combinations of the numerous French armies by his masterly retreat over the Ponte del'Arzobispo, ii. 167. Deserted by the treacherous Spaniards he retreats to Badajoz, ii. 197. His opinion of the cause of the success of the French during the revolutionary war, ii. 199. His dissatisfaction with the Portuguese, ii. 200. Refuses the command of twelve thousand troops offered by the Spaniards, ii. 202. Is created a viscount, ii. 212. Projects the formation of the lines at Torres Vedras, ii. 230. Confidently declares that Portugal could not be conquered by the French, ii. 253. Evacuates Spain, and cantons his army in Portugal, ii. 256. Receives the thanks of parliament for his victory at Talavera, ii. 301, 315. And a pension of £2,000 per annum, ii. 321. His masterly views respecting the protraction of the war in the Peninsula, ii. 353. Power of reward and punishment injudiciously withheld from him, ii. 373. His proclamation to the Portuguese, ii. 388. His admirable judgment respecting the means of frustrating Massena, ii. 395. Continues his retreat in consequence of the fall of Almeida, ii. 406. Defeats Massena with great slaughter at Busaco, ii. 422. Disposes his army in the lines of Torres Vedras, ii. 445. Is greatly embarrassed by numerous applications for leave of absence, iii. 11. Expels the French under Massena from Portugal, iii. 118. Receives the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, iii. 148. Defeats the French under Massena at Fuentes d'Honor, iii. 189. Presses the siege of Badajoz, iii. 219. Raises the siege, iii. 220. Blockades Ciudad Rodrigo, iii. 222. Is in danger of being made prisoner at Alfayates, iii. 224. Storms Ciudad Rodrigo, iii. 232. Is created Earl of Wellington by the Prince-Regent, Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spanish Regency, and Marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese Regency, iii. 234. Receives an additional grant of £2,000 per annum from Parliament, *ibid.* Refuses pecuniary reward from the Spanish and Portuguese Governments, *ibid.* Storms Badajoz after a desperate resistance, iii. 241. Drives the French out of Salamanca, which he occupies, iii. 255. Storms fort San Vincente constructed there by the French, iii. 256. Defeats the French under Marmont at Salamanca with great slaughter, iii. 263. Is created a Marquis, iii. 269. Occupies Madrid, iii. 371. His straitened private circumstances, iii. 276. Leaves Madrid and marches to Burgos, iii. 284. Attempts to storm the castle and is repulsed with severe loss, iii. 286. Is obliged to retreat before the greatly superior force of the French under Souham, iii. 293. Places his army in winter-quarters near Ciudad Rodrigo, iii. 297. Receives the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, iii. 305, 307. Receives a grant of £100,000. from the British parliament, iii. 311. Visits Cadiz, and is well received by the Cortes, which confirms his appointment as generalissimo of Spain, iii. 315. Made Knight of the Garter, iii. 328. Commences the campaign by re-occupying Salamanca, iii. 332. Crosses the Ebro, and turns the French army under Joseph Buonaparte, iii. 336. Forces the French under Marshal Jourdan to battle at Vittoria, and utterly and decisively defeats them, iii. 346. Is made field-marshal of England, iii. 347. Receives the thanks of both houses of parliament, iii. 348. Is granted a valuable estate by the Spanish Cortes, iii. 349. Is frustrated in an attempt to storm

San Sebastian, iii. 365. Repeatedly defeats Soult, and pursues him into France, 370, 373. His moderate and politic regulations on leading his army into France, iii. 374. Storms San Sebastian after a desperate resistance, iii. 380. Strongly fortifies his position in the Pyrenees, iii. 386. Forces the passage of the Bidassoa and invades France, iii. 389. Dislodges Soult with great loss from the banks of the Nivelle, iii. 399. Protects the French from the excesses of an invading army, iii. 403. Is attacked by Soult at Bayonne, and defeats him with great slaughter, iii. 413. Is mortified by the withdrawal of some of his forces by the British Government, iii. 419. Defeats the French with great slaughter at Orthez, iii. 423. His enthusiastic reception at Bourdeaux, iii. 427. Crosses the Garonne for the purpose of attacking Soult, iii. 431. Defeats Soult at Toulouse, and occupies that town, iii. 434. Concludes a suspension of hostilities with Soult and Suchet, iii. 436. Is appointed ambassador to the court of France, iii. 439. Receives from parliament a grant of £300,000 and an income of £17,000 per annum, iii. 440. Is created Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington, iii. 440. Is appointed by Ferdinand captain-general of Spain, *ibid.* Returns to London, and receives the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, ii. 447, 450. Receives reiterated and high honours from the city of London, iii. 554. In his journey to Paris visits the Low Countries, and recommends the restoration of the fortresses there, iii. 460. A year before the battle of Waterloo, points out the scene of that conflict as a good position, iii. 464. Assumes his duties as ambassador at Paris, iii. 465. Succeeds Lord Castlereagh as representative of Britain at the Congress of Vienna, iii. 466. Communicates the escape of Napoleon to the Congress, *ibid.* Takes the command of the troops of Britain and its auxiliaries in Belgium, iii. 503. Plan of campaign which he proposes to the allies, iii. 504. His demand on the British ministry for military, iii. 509. His views on the subject of the campaign, as communicated to Lord Charles Stewart, iii. 510. Vindicated from the charge of having been surprised, iii. 522, 523. Defeats the French under Ney at Quatre Bras, iii. 536. Retreats to Waterloo, iii. 543. Description of his position there, iii. 548, 549. His combined plan of operations with the Prussians, iii. 552. His wonderful escapes from being slain, iii. 553. His extraordinary intrepidity and coolness, iii. 570. His emotion after the victory, iii. 590, 592. Refutes the shameful calumny that he demanded pecuniary recompense from the government of the Netherlands, iv. 10. Previously to entering France declares its peaceful inhabitants under the protection of the allied army, iv. 11. Enters France at the head of the British army, iv. 12. Occupies the fortress of Cambray, iv. 13. Narrowly escapes being killed by the treachery of the French at Peronne, iv. 17. His strong disapprobation of the state of the army in the march to Paris, iv. 18. Earnestly recommends the restoration of Louis XVIII., iv. 25. Declares against acknowledging the son of Napoleon as Napoleon II., iv. 26. Insists that the French army shall evacuate Paris, iv. 28. In concert with Blucher concludes a convention for the evacuation of Paris by the French troops, iv. 31. His culpable infraction of the convention of Paris respecting the death of Ney, iv. 39, 42. Restores to the king of the Netherlands the works of art plundered from the Netherlands by the French, iv. 48. Opposes the proposed dismemberment of France by the Holy Alliance, iv. 58. Is made commander-in-chief of the army of the allies occupying France, *ibid.* Receives an additional grant of £200,000 from the British parliament, iv. 59. Receives the thanks of parliament, *ibid.* Is appointed master-general of the ordnance, iv. 93. Supports the vote of thanks to the Marquis of Hastings as governor-general of India, iv. 98. Protects Sir Thomas Hislop against the unjust attacks of his enemies, iv. 94. Singular consistency of his opinions at all periods of his life, iv. 96. In 1819 opens parliament as one of the commissioners of the Prince-Regent, iv. 99. His masterly views and able measures respecting the resumption of cash payments, iv. 100, 101. Strenuously opposes the admission of Roman Catholics into parliament, iv. 103. Supports George IV. in his persecution of his queen, iv. 111. Becomes unpopular in conse-

- quence of his strong language on political subjects, iv. 112. Is presented with a magnificent service of plate by the king of Portugal, iv. 114. And a splendid piece of plate by the merchants of London, *ibid.* The strict economy which he enforced in the department which he superintended, iv. 116. Officiates at the coronation of George IV. as lord high-constable, *ibid.* Decides against the claims of the queen to be crowned, iv. 117. His health proposed at a public dinner in Dublin by Marquis Wellesley and ill-received, iv. 121. Reasons for this, *ibid.* Bronze statue raised in honour of him in Hyde Park by the subscription of the ladies of England, iv. 124. Appointed plenipotentiary of Britain to the Congress of Verona. Deprecates the arbitrary measures of the Holy Alliance, iv. 134. Exerts himself to allay the commercial panic of 1825, iv. 144. Is, on the death of the Duke of York, made commander-in-chief, and colonel of the 1st grenadier guards, iv. 146. Is appointed constable of the tower, iv. 149. Account of his inauguration, iv. 150. Opposes Mr. Canning's measures on the corn-laws, and causes them to be thrown out in the Lords, iv. 153. Declines to continue commander-in-chief under Mr. Canning's administration, iv. 154. His growing unpopularity in consequence of his hostility to parliamentary reform, iv. 159. Declares his utter incapacity for the office of premier, iv. 163. Carries an amendment, overthrowing Lord Goderich's bill on the corn-trade, iv. 183. Is reappointed commander-in-chief under Lord Goderich's administration, iv. 196. His enthusiastic reception in York and other places in the north of England, iv. 201. Is appointed premier, iv. 210. His peremptory tone to Mr. Huskisson, iv. 213. Account of his personal habits, iv. 216. His extraordinary and efficient diligence in office, iv. 217. Violent hostility displayed towards him by the Catholic association, iv. 221. Liberality of his opinions respecting Catholic disabilities, iv. 223. His measure for amending the corn-laws, iv. 229. Favours the repeal of the corporation and test acts, iv. 231. Recommends that a pension be settled on the family of Mr. Canning, iv. 238. His ambiguous language on the subject of relief to the Roman Catholics, iv. 242. His humane and liberal views respecting the slave question, iv. 247. His profound knowledge of the financial circumstances of Britain, *ibid.* Forwards the completion of the Thames tunnel, iv. 254. His correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Curtis, Roman Catholic primate of Ireland, on the subject of relief to the Roman Catholics, iv. 257. Appointed governor of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports, iv. 265. His bold and sagacious measures for carrying the Roman Catholic relief-bill, iv. 275. His duel with Lord Winchelsea, iv. 289. Introduces into the house of lords a bill for the relief of Roman Catholics, iv. 291. Unwearied activity of his habits, iv. 334. Great extent of his property, iv. 335. Is grossly insulted by a Chelsea pensioner, *ibid.* Enthusiastic acclamations with which he is hailed by the London populace, *ibid.* Prosecutes Mr. Alexander for libel, iv. 348. Presides at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway, iv. 361. His second administration, iv. 390.
- Wesley, Charles, offered the estate conferred on the ancestor of the Duke of Wellington, i. 5.
- Whitbread, Samuel, censures the management of the expedition to Portugal, ii. 27. Opposes the vote of thanks to Lord Wellington for his success at Talavera, ii. 299, 311. Writes to Lord Wellington, expressing his regret, and declaring his approval and admiration of his conduct, iii. 198. Strongly condemns the policy of ministers in determining to crush Napoleon, iii. 487.
- Wilberforce, William, his eloquent eulogy on Lord Wellington, ii. 320.
- William IV., his accession to the British throne, iv. 355. His frank and cordial manners gain him great popularity, iv. 360.
- Wilson, Sir Robert, disciplines the Lusitanian legion, i. 381. His bravery and activity, i. 100. Occupies the pass of Banos, ii. 180. Deserted by the Spaniards, he is obliged to retreat, ii. 181. Checks the French, under Ney,

- and pursues his march to the British camp, *ibid.* Narrative of his career, ii. 204.
- Winchelsea, Lord, his determined opposition to concessions to the Roman Catholics, iv. 276. His duel with the Duke of Wellington, iv. 289.
- Windham, Mr., eulogizes Lord Wellington after the battle of Talavera, ii. 314. While attacking ministers for the operations preceding the convention of Cintra, bears testimony to the high merits of Sir Arthur Wellesley, ii. 22. His eulogy of Lord Wellington for his victory at Talavera, ii. 312.
- Wolfe, Rev. Charles, his celebrated lines on the death of Sir John Moore, i. 331.
- Wyatville, Sir Jeffrey, his splendid improvements at Windsor castle, iv. 334.

Y.

- York, Archbishop of, opposes the bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, iv. 311.
- York, Duke of, founds the military school, i. 12. Commands an expedition to the Low Countries, i. 13. Recalled, i. 17. Recommends that sixty thousand men should be sent to Spain, i. 274. His determined declaration against concessions to the Roman Catholics, iv. 143. His death, iv. 146.

Z.

- Zayas, General, in command of the Spaniards, defeated by Latour Maubourg at St. Ollalla, ii. 127.



